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Peace in Bosnia, War in Congress

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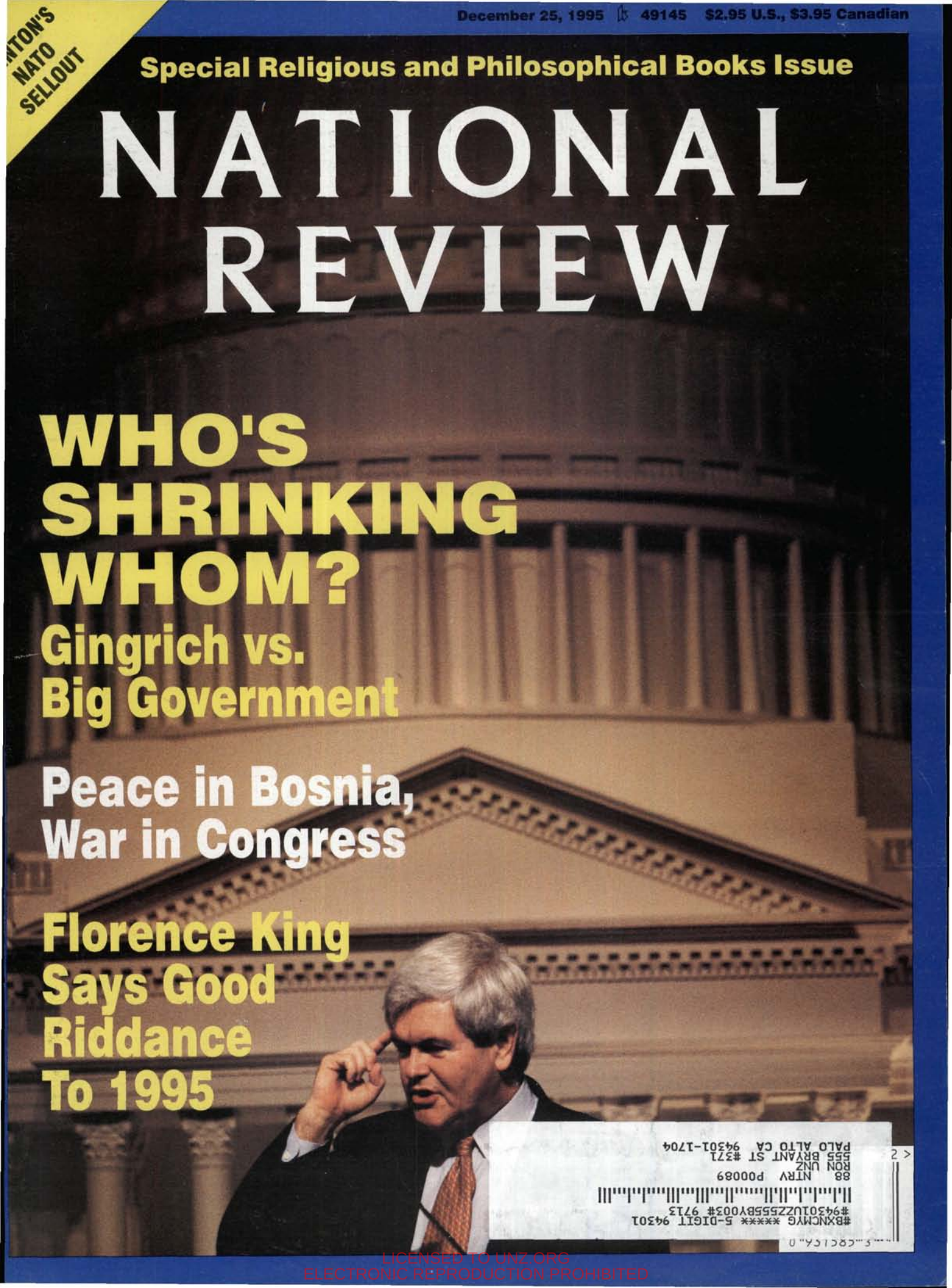

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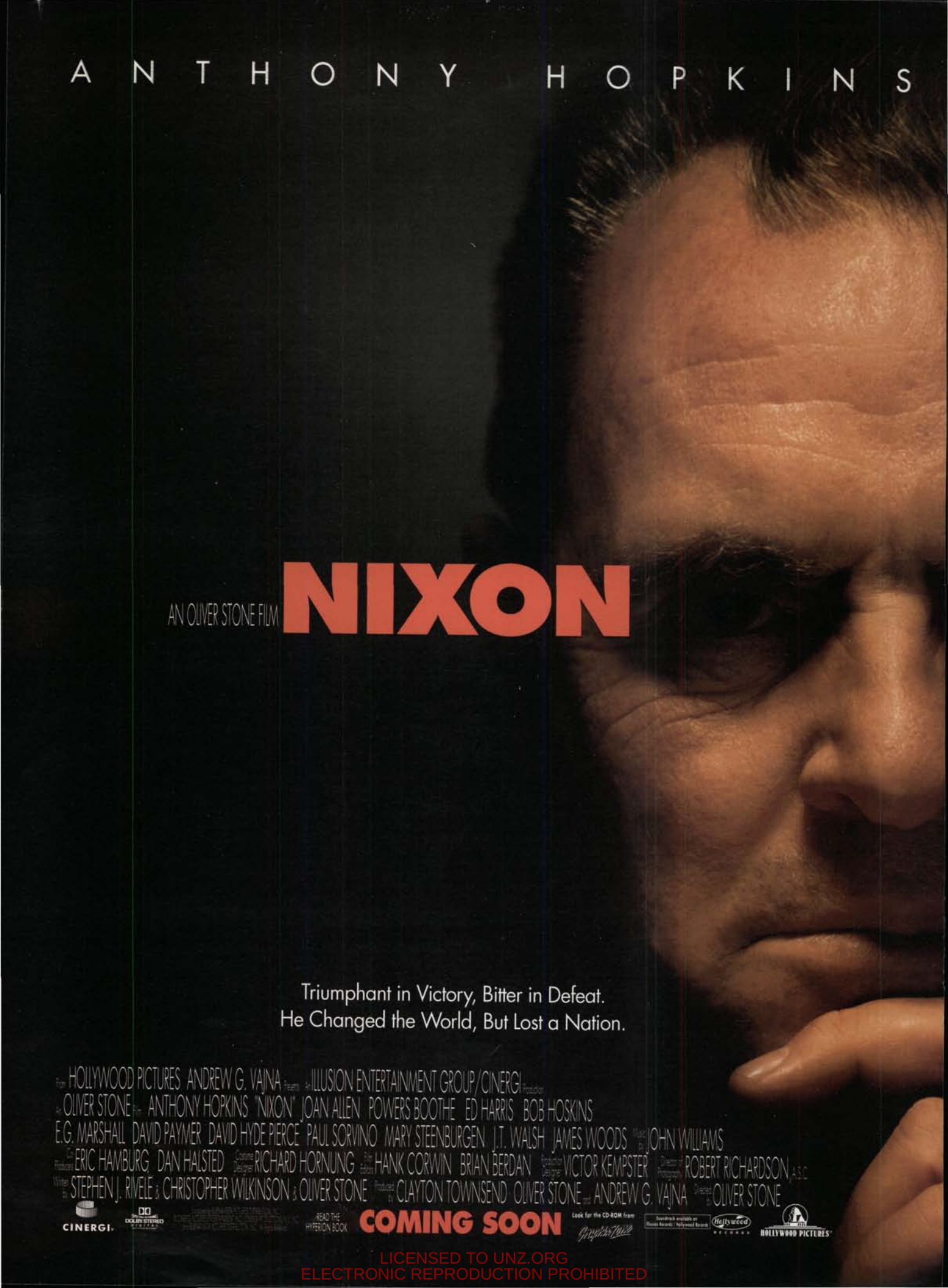
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NATIONAL REVIEW

DECEMBER 25, 1995 VOL. XLVII, NO. 24

COVER STORY

Who's Shrinking Whom?—Newt and Big Government
Newt Gingrich orchestrated and led the GOP Revolution against over-mighty government. But government continues to grow, says **Stephen Moore** (p. 20), and Newt is beginning to look battered and bruised. Are these just the marks of a good fight, wonders **Rich Lowry** (p. 34), or is the GOP in trouble?

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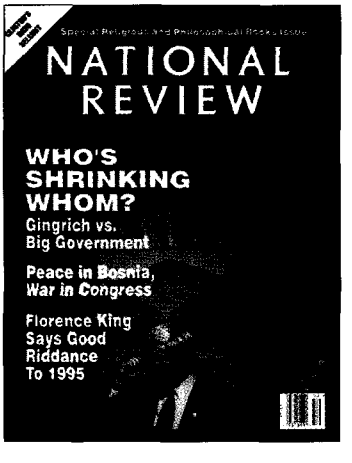
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WHO'S SHRINKING WHOM?
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LETTERS

Spotlight on AIDS

Midge Decter's "Dying of the Light" [Nov. 27], though simplistic in many areas, is important to the gay community because it spotlighted some of the concerns many within the lesbian and gay political structure have been loath to discuss. But such discourse has begun.

Many gay journalists are discussing the ethics of responsibility of the infected to the uninfected and of the uninfected to one another. The gay community, long tied up by devout libertarianism (though, sometimes contradictorily, ideologically left), is grappling with this crisis in new ways by criticizing aspects of this culture that many feel are contributing to its demise.

Troy Masters
Lesbian and Gay New York *Newspaper*
New York, N.Y.

Miss Decter concludes that the huge increases in AIDS cases reported for 1993 and 1994 were due to a tremendous increase in young homosexuals' ignoring the risk of unprotected sex. She is evidently unaware that the Centers for Disease Control has on three occasions expanded the list of diseases one or more of which must accompany the HIV virus before a diagnosis of AIDS is made. Each of the expansions (1985, 1987, and 1993) resulted in a doubling of the number of cases reported for the following year. Miss Decter is certainly correct in pointing to homosexuals' unprotected sex as our main AIDS problem, but her alarmist numbers mainly reflect the CDC's change in diagnosis criteria.

James Lee
Athens, Ohio

Wear and Tear

David Klinghoffer may be happy that fall will enhance the probability "that the sexier women on our city streets would begin to put their clothes back on" ["Clothes Call," Nov. 27], but as one who entered puberty some thirty years earlier than he, I'll look forward to visiting the city in the spring with the hope that they'll still be inclined to take them off again.

There's a very special pleasure in seeing a sexy gal swinging along the street, looking like a million bucks, with such fabric as she wears elegantly cut to heighten the interest of some male, or all males.

Cut us guys who've grown old and uglier some slack, Klinghoffer. We're not going to get to touch, but looking is still a pleasure. A pleasure that grows with age.

So here's to sexy women. God has blessed them. Let them share their blessings with others.

Ed Sloan
Virginia Beach, Va.

Editor's note: Letters of 200 words or fewer have a greater chance of being published.

Corrective Journalism

Although the academic consensus appears to be that in the aggregate immigrants do not increase unemployment or reduce the wages of native-born Americans in any significant way, a vibrant debate continues on this subject. You note correctly ["Sorry Yet?," Dec. 11] that I mistakenly quoted George Borjas as writing: "Despite the popular belief that immigrants have a large adverse impact on the wages and employment opportunities of the native-born population, the literature on this question does not provide much support for this conclusion."

This quotation belongs to economists Rachel M. Friedberg and Jennifer Hunt, whose article, also on immigration, immediately followed George Borjas's in the Spring 1995 issue of the *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Considering their article part of Borjas's, from a faxed copy, was the source of my mistake. Dr. Borjas had written previously in his 1990 book *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, "[T]he methodological arsenal of modern econometrics cannot detect a single shred of evidence that immigrants have a sizable adverse impact on the earnings and employment opportunities of natives in the United States" (p. 81). This is why the above quotation did not strike me as inappropriate coming from him.

I appreciate NATIONAL REVIEW's diligence in pointing out my mistake.

Stuart Anderson
The Cato Institute
Washington, D.C.

We commend Mr. Anderson for his forthright admission. When he finally reads the JEP *article, he will see that, as we pointed out, Mr. Borjas has for some time reported that there is an adverse impact from immigration in national labor markets, and that only if immigration drives down wages can we speak of any aggregate benefit (albeit still nugatory) to native-born Americans.*

—ED.

The Return of Racism?

Dinesh D'Souza accurately describes "rational discrimination" ["Myth of the Racist Cabbie," Oct. 9], but his policy recommendation worries me. To advocate legalization of private discrimination in the name of a "free society" and the "distinction between the private and public sphere" is to pursue abstract theory with a blind eye to history. Jim Crow persevered a century after abolition and required federal intervention. The 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawed the very type of private discrimination that Mr. D'Souza would allow; yet it is the moral teaching of that law that is largely responsible for the fact, saluted by Mr. D'Souza, that "white attitudes have undergone a revolutionary transformation in favor of equal rights."

History, morality, and natural law teach that men should not be at liberty to enslave one another. Nor should they be free to discriminate against each other on the basis of purported group characteristics, however rationalized. Our rejection of newer forms of discrimination introduced by affirmative action shouldn't open the door to the old-fashioned kind.

Bennett Evan Cooper
Paradise Valley, Ariz.

Say What?

With respect to Harold Johnson's "Speaking in Tongues" [Nov. 6] perhaps we should consider conducting government business in languages reflecting ethnic origins. Cum D. Coturnice, linguam gentis Latinæ pro originibus culturæ nostræ gens occidentalis utantur. Same innan þisne eðel, wiþ þæm þe Angelcynne folc magon hiera wordum writan and sprecan. Et, comme au Canada, chaque personne décide chaque fois quelle langue est à propos du but d'une fidélité divisée. Diese Methode ist nötig um Verwirrung zu ermöglichen. Imagine the progress.

Translation (look to a new government department to do this in the future!): With Dan Quayle, Western people could use the language of the Latin people on behalf of our cultural origins. (Lat.) Likewise in this country—as long as English people are able to write and speak their own language. (O.E.) And, as in Canada, each person decides every time which language is proper to the aim of a divided loyalty. (Fr.) This method is necessary in order to create confusion. (Ger.)

Stephen Harris
Loyola University
Chicago, Ill.

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FROM THE EDITOR

Sancta Simplicitas

■ Some fallacies survive any number of dissections. A *Wall Street Journal* profile of Pat Buchanan observes that he "doles out simple answers to complicated questions"—evidently an intellectually shallow thing to do.

This is, of course, a common view among media intellectuals. As James Bowman pointed out in a recent issue, reviewers of Newt Gingrich's book seethed with condescension at the "sound-bite simplicity" (Patricia Holt of the *San Francisco Chronicle*) of the Speaker's approach to "enormously complex problems" (Michiko Kakutani of the *New York Times*). Mr. Gingrich, such comments imply, did not realize how foolish this made him look.

In fact, this kind of thing is a superstition of the sophisticated. There is no logical requirement that the solution to a complex problem need itself be complex. Quite the reverse. The philosophical rule known as Ockham's Razor decrees that a simple answer is to be preferred to a complex one if both explain the available phenomena.

The complex Ptolemaic astronomical system (which held that the sun went around the earth) predicted eclipses quite as accurately as the much simpler Copernican system (which holds that the earth goes around the sun). In order to get these correct predictions, however, it needed to add a host of exceptions and qualifications onto the basic theory —i.e., the theory had to be complex because it was wrong.

As Miss Kakutani's former *Times* colleague John Gross once remarked on this very point: "Complexity is the last refuge of the scoundrel." I have quoted Mr. Gross before, and doubtless I shall have to do so again.

■ A somewhat disappointing set of entries for our competition on resistance to the Christmas spirit. Some, indeed, were less about Christmas than about the wider topic of bone-headed bureaucratic hostility to anything connected with the Christian religion.

Thus, Eric Huber reported that schoolchildren in Howard County, Maryland, were warned off sending Valentine's Day cards because they promote a "religious" figure. Let me reassure the bureaucrats: the religion that Valentine's Day promotes is not Christianity but one both more ancient and more modern. It might be called a fertility cult except that Maryland schools probably distribute condoms to make it an infertility cult.

Also, Saint Valentine may not have existed at all. If he did, he may have been either a third-century martyr under Emperor Claudius II, or the bishop of Terni, also martyred, neither of them famous as flirts. Saint Valentine is the patron saint of Hallmark's—and that's about it.

Back to Christmas. The winner is Michael Del Rosso of St. Paul, Minnesota, who sent in some hilarious examples of anti-Christmas nervousness in the school bureaucracy from his local paper, the *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*.

For instance, the Mississippi Creative Arts Magnet School in St. Paul banned recognition of Christmas, but then invited parents to come to a Hmong New Year's celebration at the school. The "district's communications specialist" (I am not making this up) explained suavely that the Hmong celebration was an evening event, and not part of the school day—a good example of an explanation that doesn't explain anything.

My favorite absurdity comes from St. Cloud, where the public schools won't allow Christmas trees this year. Superintendent Bruce Thomas told the newspaper that district policy allows trees or menorahs only if they're part of the curriculum.

"We had legal advice on the thing," he said. "In other words, no trees."

So a bottle of bubbly to Mr. Del Rosso, a Merry Christmas to all our readers—and we're taking legal advice on whether wishing you a Happy New Year would constitute a legal obligation which in the event we might not be able to fulfill.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

NATIONAL REVIEW

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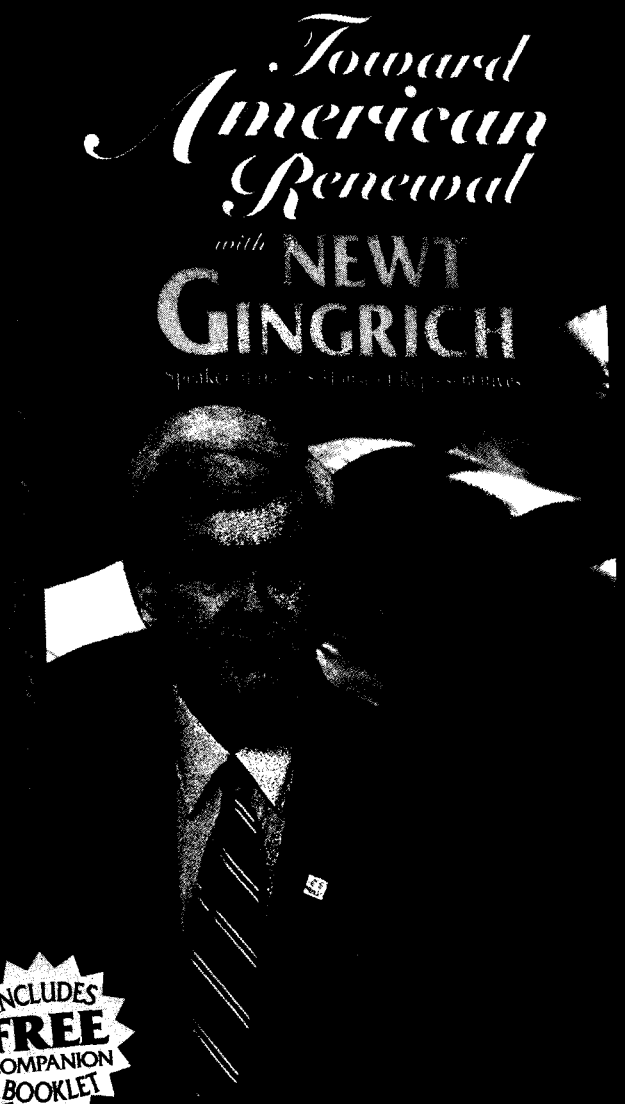

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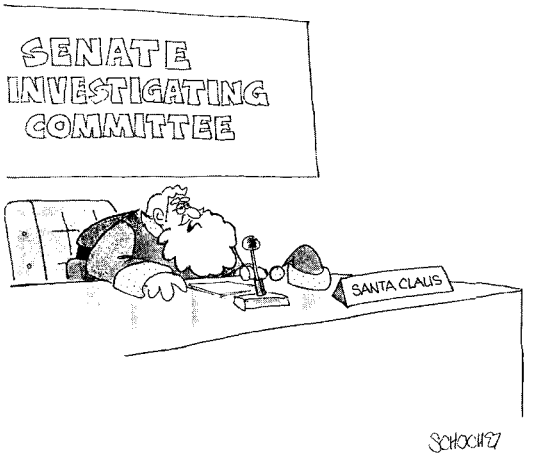
FOR THE RECORD

■ Bosnia politics have split GOP presidential contenders. **Bob Dole** backs President **Clinton**, with some reservations. Noting his long-time support for arming Bosnian Muslims, Dole says: "If we'd lifted the arms embargo a year ago we wouldn't be talking about sending American troops now, but that didn't happen." . . . **Dick Lugar** agrees with Dole, says of opponents of deployment: "Charitably, these are folks who have not grappled with very much in terms of foreign affairs or defense policy." . . . **Phil Gramm**, **Lamar Alexander**, **Steve Forbes**, **Pat Buchanan**, looking for leverage against Dole, all on other side. Pat Buchanan sent letter to Dole: "This time lead. This time rally the Congress to stand up and say, 'No,' to a President who would put the best and bravest of America's young into a Balkan quagmire." . . . Dole gets cover from Sen. **John McCain**, national co-chairman of Gramm campaign, who supports deployment: "When the President's word is no longer credible abroad, all Americans are less safe."

■ Forbes campaign claiming second-place showing in Iowa, New Hampshire in some polls, close race with Dole in Arizona. Campaign about to announce agreement to bring aboard 50-state **Powell** organization. . . . In flip-flop, Forbes comes out for a federal version of Prop. 187. He had previously called **Pete Wilson**'s handling of illegal-alien issue "morally wrong." . . . In the wake of **Arlen Specter**'s exit from race, Republicans for Choice head **Ann Stone** says group will support Dole and Forbes. Says "Our best person left is Steve Forbes, who's against any regulation in the first trimester." . . . Buchanan graces cover of *Time*. **Eric Alterman**, writing in *The Nation*, calls him America's "first Marxist presidential candidate"; in *Weekly Standard*, **David Frum** pronounces him "America's last leftist." . . . Knives rumored to be out for Dole campaign manager **Scott Reed**, although he has so far run an impressive, conservative campaign. . . . Louisiana's threat to jump its caucuses to February 6—ahead of Iowa's, set for February 12—poses dilemma for Gramm, who is strong in Louisiana, but can't afford to anger Iowans. . . . Federal judge **Edward R. Korman** overturns New York GOP's restrictive ballot-access rules that would probably have kept any candidate except Dole from competing in presidential primary there. Forbes pledges all-out effort in state.

■ Wave of retirements hits GOP Senate moderates. Sens. **Nancy Kassebaum** (Kan.), **Mark Hatfield** (Ore.), **Alan Simpson** (Wyo.) hang it up. Unfortunate consequence of Kassebaum departure: liberal **James Jeffords** (Vt.), only Republican to endorse Clinton health plan, is next in line for chairmanship of Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. . . . Retirement of Rep. **Jan Meyers** (R., Kan.), chairman of Small Business Committee, may finally clear way for the panel's elimination. . . . Rep. **Jimmy Hayes** (La.) becomes fifth Congressional Democrat to switch to GOP. Congressional Democrats numbered 204 after elections, now down to 197, lowest number since 1948. . . . Two dozen House Republicans form the "Mainstream Conservative Alliance," an effort to work with conservative-Democrat group, "The Coalition." . . . In California special election to fill seat vacated by Democratic Rep. **Norm Mineta**, anti-Gingrich ads hurt Republican candidate, State Sen. **Tom Campbell**. . . . House freshmen like **David McIntosh** (Ind.), aggressive and loyal to Speaker, said to be vulnerable if attacks on Gingrich continue to bite. However, McIntosh has war chest of $250,000 and, so far, no opponent. . . . California Republicans succeeded in recalling **Doris Allen**, who was briefly Speaker of Assembly after she cut deal with **Willie Brown** that allowed him to maintain control of body.



"You'd like to know my method for determining just who has been naughty and who has been nice?"

■ Pres. **Jiang Zemin** acknowledged that China is leader of rump Communist world by inviting **Fidel Castro** and Vietnam's **Do Muoi** together to Peking in mid-November. "The disasters that have happened in the countries of the former Soviet Union," Castro says, "compared to the impressive successes of China and Vietnam clearly indicate what can and cannot be done if one wants to save the revolution and socialism." . . . Controversy surrounding ex-Pres. of Mexico **Carlos Salinas de Gortari**—with his older brother, **Raúl**, charged with murder—deepened when sister-in-law **Paulina Castañon** was arrested by Swiss police and charged with trying to withdraw $84 million with forged identity papers. . . . **Thomas Graham**, first secretary of America's Moscow embassy, charges, in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* article, that **Boris Yeltsin**'s government is in the grip of an ex-Soviet oligarchy, with December's parliamentary elections and next spring's presidential elections threatening reform movement. . . . Yeltsin's loyal defense minister, Gen. **Pavel Grachev**, has organized 123 officers, including 23 generals, to run in elections—half of parliamentary seats. Estimated half of Russian voters have some connection with military. . . . **Neil Kinnock**, former British Labour Party leader, now EC commissioner, suddenly becomes spokesman inside Commission for doubts that 1999 common-currency deadline will be met or that EC can admit new members without substantial increases in budget.

■ Pat Buchanan, asked by *Wall Street Journal* to name favorite liberal, responds: "Bob Dole."

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THE WEEK

■ TV stations in New Hampshire and Iowa have started to get complaints that they keep interrupting the Steve Forbes commercials to show programming.

■ All signs are that the obstructionists among President Clinton's advisors have the upper hand in the internal debate over the budget. The idea is to stonewall the GOP's huge budget-reconciliation bill, then pick it apart next year, making each element one plank in a scare campaign: the farm bill in the Midwest; the Medicare reforms in Arizona, Florida, and just about everywhere else; etc. (Think of it as their version of the Contract with America.) Republicans, meanwhile, would be denied both any significant legislative accomplishment this year and any chance to rebut Democratic distortions by pointing to the non-apocalyptic reality of their policies. So, it's imperative that the GOP avoid this gridlock scenario. The chief means of doing so is by holding the outstanding appropriations bills hostage and threatening another government shutdown come December 15. Nervous senators—Bob Dole is calling a second partial shutdown a "mistake"—are beginning to shy away from this approach, chastened by the fallout from the mid-November shutdown. Which obviously could have been handled better (may Newt Gingrich never exit from the front door of a plane again). But, even so, once the November shutdown became focused on a seven-year balanced budget, the White House's nightly tracking polls crashed and congressional Democrats began to peel off. Clinton has no stomach for doing publicly what he wants in his heart: to keep the red ink flowing. In the coming weeks, then, Republicans must drag him out in the open, be flexible on the spending details (giving a little on Americorps, Medicare, and so on), but refuse to accept "no" for an answer. Actually achieving a balanced budget is indispensable political cover. As in 1990, when the Bush Administration headed for Andrews Air Force base, the Republican future hangs in the balance. Blink—and you're dead.

■ Whatever President Clinton's rhetoric about "mending" affirmative action, his Administration's real commitment is to expanding it. One of the most telling pieces of evidence has been its conduct in a Piscataway, New Jersey, case involving the use of race as a factor in employment decisions. The Justice Department had sided with a fired white teacher, Sharon Taxman, during the Bush Administration. But soon after Deval Patrick became chief of its Civil Rights Division in 1994, the department switched sides—in the middle of an appeal. This astonishing breach of legal ethics proved too much for a three-judge panel, by no means composed of conservatives, which threw the Justice Department out of court late last month. Yet the theoretical revolution here is even more sinister: for the first time, a branch of the Federal Government is advocating racial discrimination not to remedy past discrimination, but to promote "diversity." Which is perilously close to advocating racial discrimination—the "right" kind, of course—for its own sake. So far, no court has accepted this rationale for racial preferences. But the President has at least another year to make judicial appointments. To squelch the social revolution Mr. Patrick desires, voters will have to throw him out of office as well as out of court.

■ President Clinton says his Bosnia policy comes with a one-year guarantee. But would you buy a used civil war from this man?

■ The "energy crisis" that the federal 55-mile-per-hour speed limit was meant to alleviate ended long ago. Since liberals cannot bear to see any regulation die, they opposed repeal anyway, warning of carnage on the roads. (If "saving lives" were a dispositive argument for the current speed limit, it would be an even better argument for lowering it to 45 mph.) Now that President Clinton has grudgingly signed the bill, drivers will still be able to reap most of the safety advantages of the old laws by driving slowly if they wish to. The added danger from others' driving faster is too negligible to be taken seriously. If liberals were really

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concerned about highway fatalities, they would urge consumers to buy bigger cars—currently discouraged by government fuel-efficiency standards.

■ The U.S. Postal Service has decided what to do about terrible customer-satisfaction ratings. It will no longer publish them.

■ Poof! In a keystroke Robert Rubin turned the Civil Service retirement fund into old-fashioned IOUs. Since the latter are not subject to the debt limit, D-Day (as in default) was pushed back until December 28. We don't recommend the practice. Not only are further trust-fund raids illegal (Rubin's own lawyers attest to this), but they would increase future federal liabilities, thereby making a balanced budget that much more difficult. There's a better way. Why not sell all those assets that the government has no business holding under any fiscal situation? Mortgages and other loans held by Uncle Sam are worth $203 billion, according to the budget. Government lands with their mineral rights are worth $577 billion; even environmentalists acknowledge their despoliation under Washington's management. Selling off gold, foreign exchange, and other assets held by the Treasury and Federal Reserve would raise about $205 billion, and move us toward the privatized money supply long advocated by libertarians. Liquidating all non-defense assets could keep the government afloat for five and a half years, according to the Joint Economic Committee. Unfortunately, it would take years just to plan such a sell-off. Maybe in the Gingrich Administration . . .

■ President Clinton ventured a new core belief that "Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe." Publishers of maps, atlases, gazetteers, geography texts, and derivative material, kindly make the necessary revisions.

■ Peter Rodman's revelation (p. 23) of secret Clinton assurances to Yeltsin that NATO expansion would be delayed indefinitely was given wide advance circulation by *NR* among Capitol Hill denizens, diplomats, and journalists. George Will asked Warren Christopher about it on the December 3 Brinkley show—only to be told it was "absolute nonsense." Mr. Christopher denied any such "arrangement" and promised that the NATO Allies were "on a steady course" on the enlargement issue. The term "arrangement" was of course a straw man, and the NATO Allies are in fact on a "steady course" to nowhere: the only schedule they have is a schedule of infinite evasions. Mr. Rodman's sources are authoritative witnesses, on both the Russian and the American side, to the summit conversation at Hyde Park and also to lower-level exchanges. The Secretary's stonewall is unbecoming. Speaker Gingrich is including a query about the matter in a formal letter to the President. We expect a more judicious—and candid—reply.

■ To you skeptics, we say: A nation that can bring lasting peace to Somalia can bring lasting peace to Bosnia.

■ Javier Solana, Spain's foreign minister, has been chosen as NATO's new secretary general to replace the departed and discredited Willy Claes. Solana, however, is a Socialist who opposed Spain's entry into the Alliance in the early 1980s, who has no experience in security matters, and who represents a country that is not a member of NATO's integrated military command. Six GOP senators, led by Bob Dole and Jesse Helms, have rightly protested the choice. But the Administration, having clung to Claes well past his sell-by date, and having vetoed the staunchly pro-

The Week in Verse

Sure and it was a glorious *Irish* scene
When *Bill O'Clinton*, wearin' o' th' green,
Came down to *Dublin*, and to use his throat
'Mongst throngs of Stout Admirers—who can't vote.
And e'en his words were something less than flaccid; he
May be a *Baptist*, but he's still a *Cassidy*.
And, as he came, the ice began to crack:
Major and *Bruton* got the talks on track
With help from a bright new *Commission*, which'll
Be headed by his own proconsul, *Mitchell*.
Strange 'tis: just as he showed Imperial force,
The backward Irish voted for divorce,
While indiscretions *Princess Di* admits
Were thrills to once-fastidious fellow *Brits*.

Then on to *Germany* to lead the war
(Albeit without his crack First Psychic Corps)
From well behind the lines. *Bill* told the rest:
For noble aims he'd put them to the test
He'd shirked himself in youth. One hopes they
were impress'd.

He leads abroad but not when he's back here,
Though Newt has negatives i' th' stratosphere.
The press is snapping at the Speaker's heels
For *GOPAC*, book deals, or because he feels
That there's a link he can't quite demonstrate
Between sick killers and the welfare state.
He's not the man who, faced with fights, will blench,
And yet he says he's going to warm the bench
(As om'nous strikes at welfare cuts convulse
the French).
Meanwhile, his colleagues who are in the game
Proceed to squabble: *Dole* meets with acclaim
As "statesmanlike" for backing *Bill's* program
For Bosnia—though it's poison to *Phil Gramm*.
Slick *Alexander* Clinton imitates
By showing how his sort "triangulates":
He calls the Congress "arrogant," you see,
Alike as run by *Dems* or *GOP*.

—Juvenal

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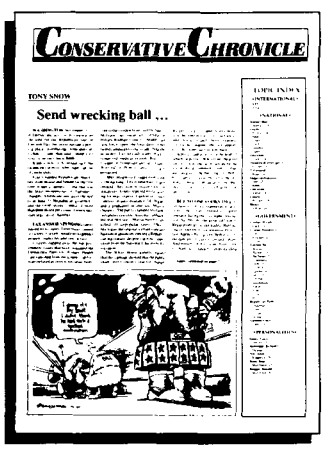

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HNRN

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American Ruud Lubbers (apparently he wasn't sound on Bosnia), was finally satisfied with Solana. He's Clinton's kind of guy.

■ The White House spin is that we are sending "peacekeepers" to Bosnia. Presumably that means that the army, navy, and air force will get to stay home. We'll see. We never quite trust the White House in these matters.

■ A poll conducted by Frank Luntz uncovers some interesting moral differences between liberals and conservatives. More liberals "admit to having taken a hotel towel" (46 to 37 per cent). They are less likely to fly a flag outside their home, but far more likely to sleep around, and more likely to be convinced (61 per cent, to 57 for conservatives) that they are better than their fellow man. Since all these self-estimates but the last are true, they also rate high in honesty.

■ Over the past twenty years, the CIA and the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) have spent $20 million on psychics, asking them to look into issues of national concern, and we still don't know what the President's core beliefs are.

Mr. Clinton's Quagmire

SOME of our best friends favor sending U.S. troops into Bosnia. We vote no.

To begin with, the Bosnia accord negotiated in Dayton is full of holes—as is to be expected of an agreement that crowns three years of incoherent U.S. policy. It ratifies the results of ethnic cleansing, and it hoists lofty promises of ensuring a unitary Bosnian state that are unlikely to be kept for long. Under Bosnia's new constitution, the powers of the central government are mostly nominal; those of the separate ethnic "entities"—the Muslim–Croat Federation and the so-called "Serb Republic"—are real. Whereas Sarajevo retains control over international relations, trade, and finance, the "entities" control their own armies and police. In a region poised on the brink of war, that means effective partition along ethnic lines. Most likely, the Bosnian Serbs will develop ties with neighboring Serbia, and the Croats with Croatia—leaving a Muslim rump state. Deployment of NATO and U.S. troops will at best delay that outcome for a year while the warring parties rest and regroup. Why take risks for that?

A different policy could have produced a better outcome. *NR* has consistently argued for lifting the arms embargo and arming the Bosnians. That would have shaped a more even balance of military power and thus a more stable peace. President Clinton, having rejected this approach on the grounds that it would be a slippery slope to deploying U.S. ground troops, now proposes to do precisely that in much worse circumstances. And, post Dayton, he presents Congress with this policy as a *fait accompli*.

This means that any opposition from Congress is, up until money time, formalistic. And—uncomfortably for the GOP—the arguments that dispute this kind of presidential authority have in recent years been pressed most keenly by Democrats, who interpret the Commander-in-Chief authority of the President as limited by the congressional authority to make war. But the matter is moot. In our history, the President has over 150 times ordered troops into action (however limited) and Congress has declared war only five times.

Given this record, Senator Dole argues that since the troops are headed for Bosnia anyway, there is nothing much that Congress can do except, down the line, cut off their K-rations. So we might as well extend the support that signifies that their effort has congressional backing. This is an engaging point: it isn't much fun to risk life and limb over an ambiguity. We know from the documentary record that toward the end of the Vietnam War, the riven public back home had a depressing effect on the morale of America's fighting men. But there is a difference between chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" and expressing reasoned criticism. U.S. troops presumably welcome the evidence that Congress will not endorse putting them in harm's way without good reasons.

What might they be? Senators Dole and McCain, our distinguished senior editor Peter Rodman, and other conservative friends argue that congressional action undercutting the President now would do serious harm to the NATO Alliance. The U.S., having given its word, cannot go back on it without paying a heavy price. They argue that the better course is to try to *shape* presidential policy by insisting on strict conditions for the deployment: 1) robust rules of engagement so that the troops can defend themselves; 2) NATO (and not UN) command; 3) Russia kept in a subordinate role; 4) a credible plan for arming and

Merry Christmas, Mr. Morris

Deck the halls for Clinton's pollster.
(Leon really loathes the guy, fa-la.)
Bill's the boss he's paid to bolster.
(Gephardt's diastolic's up, fa-la.)
Morris lets the Senate dangle.
(Moynihan's arteries throb, fa-la.)
Morris plays the steel triangle.
(Hillary adores the ping! *fa-la.)*

—W. H. VON DREELE

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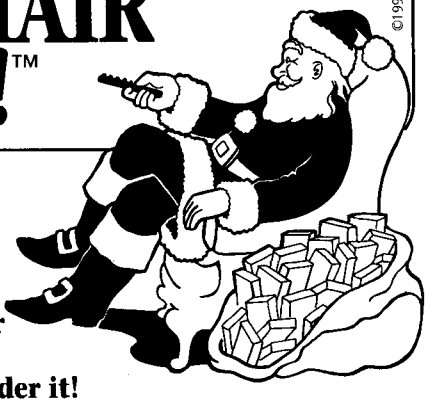

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training the Bosnians; and 5) no artificial time limits (which may suit Mr. Clinton's electoral calendar but which can only weaken the credibility of the forces). And indeed, if Bosnia can be strengthened, this is the sensible "exit strategy"—based on the premise that someday soon we won't be needed.

These are serious arguments not to be dismissed out of hand. Refusing to deploy U.S. troops in support of America's own diplomatic handiwork would certainly weaken our leadership of NATO. But a worse outcome would be for the U.S. to go into Bosnia and then get out again either under fire, or having accomplished nothing, or after falling out with our allies over what to do there. The worst thing about Mr. Clinton's policy is that it offers us only a choice of evils. As for shaping that policy by supporting it, this ignores the continued footdragging Senator Dole has encountered from the Administration on arming and training the Bosnians. What will our friends advise if the Administration fails to help the Bosnians effectively once U.S. troops have been deployed? They could hardly urge pulling out. Their arguments concerning U.S. credibility and NATO leadership would require staying even more than they are now said to dictate going. Mr. Clinton would then be shaping GOP policy.

In short, the Clinton policy is mistaken; U.S. troops should not be deployed in its support; and Congress should say so. To be sure, the troops will go in anyway. Congress's and the GOP's further responsibilities, therefore, are to ensure that the Administration con-

Right Data

LESTER Thurow is at it again. In a recent *New York Times* op-ed piece the MIT economist blames long-term economic stagnation for the demise of traditional American families.

"*The median real wage for full-time male workers has fallen from $34,048 in 1973 to $30,407 in 1993.*" Yes, wages have fallen for "non-supervisory" and production workers sampled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, but they represent a dwindling share of the total workforce. Since 1983 more than half of all jobs created in this country have been for managers, from CEOs to branch managers, and for professionals, from surgeons to software programmers. Their ranks are double (34 million versus 17 million) the old-style factory workers who Thurow claims are typical.

A better measure of economic well-being is per-capita national income. It captures all forms of pay, including health and pension benefits, transfer payments, and employee savings plans. As seen in the table, this income measure grew by a whopping 18 per cent during the 1980s. It has slipped since then but remains well above its 1973 level.

"*The traditional family is being destroyed not by misguided social welfare programs coming from Washington . . . but by a modern economic system. . . .*" Two decades of family-income statistics indicate that Washington may indeed be the culprit here.

Middle-class families suffered declining real incomes during the 1970s, a period when anti-poverty programs were expanding rapidly and inflation was pushing workers into higher tax brackets. With the restoration of sanity during the Reagan years, the median family—black and white alike—more than recouped those losses, only to see the down escalator resume under Presidents Bush and Clinton. In short, the "modern economy" is unfriendly to families only when Washington is unfriendly to the economy.

"*Men have a strong economic incentive to bail out of family responsibility since when they do so their real standard of living rises 73 per cent . . .*" On the contrary, a study published by the Population Council earlier this year shows that a husband's income *declines* by 6 per cent in the first year after a couple splits, while the wife's income falls by a whopping 24 per cent. Research by University of Chicago sociologist Linda Waite found that married people were generally better off financially than singles or couples who simply live together, because they were much more likely to pool money and invest in the future. Poverty rates confirm this: Only 5 to 7 per cent of all married couples have incomes below the poverty line, compared to 35 per cent of female-headed families and 16 per cent of families headed by single males.

"*Adding to the frustrations, the old remedy for lower wages—more education—no longer works.*" In 1992, college graduates made an average of 82 per cent more than high-school graduates did, up from 43 per cent in 1972. The biggest gains were made by professionals .with advanced degrees—PhDs, MDs, JDs, CPAs, and so on. This group saw its income advantage vis-à-vis high-school graduates grow from 72 per cent in 1972 to 350 per cent in 1992.

Today, high-school graduates earn scarcely half as much as college graduates, and the gap is growing. Indeed, the increased returns to education explain most of the widening gap between rich and poor so deplored by Mr. Thurow.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

ECONOMIC OASIS IN THE EIGHTIES
(1993 Dollars)

	Per-Capita National Income	Median Family Income		Poverty Rate	
		White	Black	Married Couples	Single Parents
1973	$17,184	$38,559	$22,254	5.3%	32.2%
1980	16,935	38,458	22,253	6.2	32.7
1989	20,020	41,922	23,550	5.6	32.2
1993	19,867	39,300	21,542	6.5	35.6
		% Change			
1973–80	–1.4%	–0.3%	0.0%	0.9 pts.	0.5 pts.
1980–89	18.2	9.0	5.8	–0.6	–0.5
1989–93	–0.8	–6.3	–8.6	0.9	0.4

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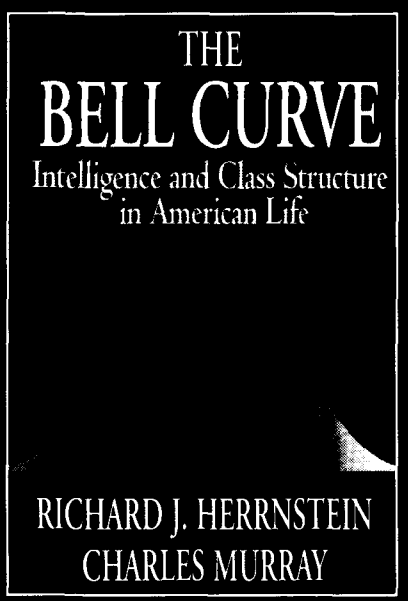

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ducts the intervention with firmness and prudence, and to develop an alternative policy which a chastened President Clinton or his successor might adopt.

Clinton Redux?

HOW well *is* President Clinton doing? Some days, it depends on which page of the paper you read. On December 4, the *New York Times* had a choice of two impressionistic mood-of-the-country pieces. One ("Along a Missouri Highway, Worries and a Sense of Duty to Help Bosnians") was decidedly mixed. The other ("Clinton Showing Strength Among Michigan's Voters") brought tidings of great joy to all Democrats. The Bosnia-reaction piece concerned an issue that has dominated the news for weeks. The Michigan story analyzed opinion in one state, albeit an important one. Which did the *Times* put on the front page, and which on page A10? Readers who fail to answer correctly will have their subscriptions cancelled, due to lack of intelligence.

But the President is not just getting a leg up from friendly media. Polls have shown his stock rising as Congress's has fallen. On October 3, a *Washington Post*/ABC News poll found that 52 per cent approved of the way Bill Clinton was handling his job, while only 32 per cent approved of the way Congress was handling its. On November 6, the *Post* reported that Clinton had drawn statistically even with the congressional GOP on the question, "Whom do you trust to do a better job with the main problems the nation faces over the next few years?": 41 per cent picked Clinton, 43 per cent picked Congress (in January, Congress had beaten Clinton 54 to 30). Clinton won on specific issues too. A November 21 *Post*/ABC poll showed that 56 per cent thought Clinton's position on the budget came closer to their own, versus only 36 per cent for Congress.

The Gingrich revolution has suffered from bumbles, not least on the part of Mr. Gingrich. Tired of jokes about which door of Air Force One the Speaker uses? Don't be; you'll be hearing a lot more of them. But a greater drag on the GOP is its strategic situation. The Republicans in Congress are doing what they said they would do in the Contract: leading. All the mid-course wrangles and difficulties are laid to their door—and rightly so. If you are running with the ball, you will necessarily run into defensive linemen. Mr. Gingrich would strike observers as a heavy, even if he behaved like Lord Chesterfield.

Republicans will start coming up again in the polls when they can show results. Some of the effects of Medicare or welfare reform may not be visible ten months hence. But the will to reform *will* be evident, if the Republicans continue to manifest it. Just as Harry Truman ran against the Do-Nothing Congress in 1948, Republicans can run against the Do-Nothing White House in 1996—so long as they do not lose heart.

The same polls that show Clinton ascendant also show the underlying strength of the congressional GOP. The November 6 *Post* poll showed that the GOP still "better represents" the views of 55 per cent of the nation; the Democrats speak for a measly 25 per cent. Republicans beat Democrats in organization (55 to 25), "manag[ing] the Federal Government well" (52 to 30), and "bring[ing] about the kind of changes the country needs" (46 to 39).

Yet Democrats still beat Republicans in the empathy sweepstakes: "car[ing]" more about the middle class (55 to 35) and about "people like you" (51 to 35). They also seem to be more "in touch with what most Americans think" (49 to 37). This is perhaps the best news of all for the feel-your-pain President. Next fall, the voters might well choose to leave Congress in the hands of a competent, nuts-and-bolts GOP, while leaving Bill Clinton in the White House as a combination of an institutional check and a national Ann Landers. The burden then falls not on Newt, but on Bob Dole, Phil Gramm, and the others who would be President. The congressional GOP will do all right on issues of competence. It is doing all right now, despite superficial appearances to the contrary. The party's presidential candidate has to demonstrate how the Republican approach addresses the concerns of average Americans. He will never be more touchy-feely than Bill Clinton. But if he understands his own case, and is able to *make* it to a largely skeptical audience, then Bill Clinton's current numbers will seem as remote next November as George Bush's Gulf War polls seemed in 1992.

Merry Christmas

ONCE upon a time, the public schools played a role in transmitting historical memory and cultural identity. But it is increasingly evident that that time is gone. If families want to understand Presidents' Day, Thanksgiving, or Christmas, they have to do their own homework.

A good way to start getting closer to the core material of Christmas would be to read carefully the accounts of Jesus' birth. Matthew 1:22-23 refers to a supposed prophecy of this event by Isaiah. Isaiah could not have *known* of this coming event in any ordinary sense. In *The Republic* Plato evokes the idea of a perfectly righteous man who is regarded as evil and dangerous by those around him and so is tortured and impaled. In his *Fourth Eclogue*, regarded as prophetic by medieval writers, Virgil, who in the ordinary sense *knew* nothing of Jesus, writes of a coming birth and a great turn in history. Matthew's text leads to long thoughts about prophecy.

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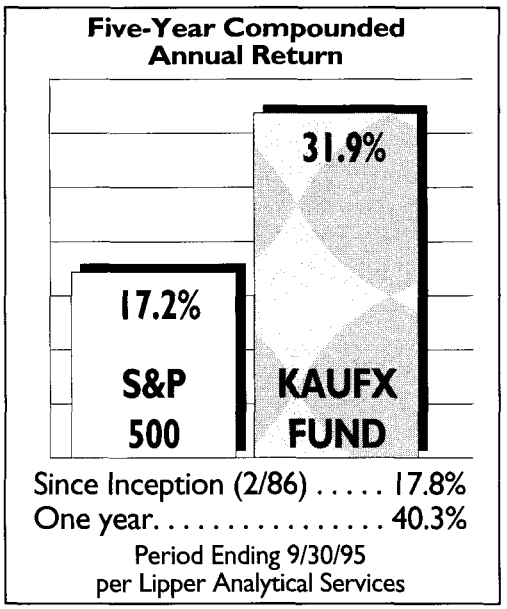

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Many scholars think that the Wise Men who came to Bethlehem from the east were in fact Persian Magi, or priests, who usually were astrologers. The apparition in the heavens—star? comet?—had shocked their deterministic and self-contained universe with its newness.

The genealogy at the beginning of Matthew looks dry, but isn't. As verse 1:17 notes, the list falls into three groups of 14 generations, from Abraham to David, from David until the Babylonian exile, and from that exile to Jesus. Is the writer here suggesting an underlying pattern working through history? We notice that Jesus does not come at the beginning of the final group, but culminates it. Interesting. Does the writer intend us to see Jesus as the end of exile?

Matthew's is one way of putting it. But compare him to John 1:1–14. No genealogy at all here. John and his audience are interested in philosophy, not genealogy and its historical pattern. But the Greek word *logos* means much more than the English "word." In Hellenistic thought it means "form," in this case the "underlying form of the Kosmos." But what can this mean, that the "underlying form" of the Kosmos "became flesh" in Jesus?

Down through the ages it comes to us. It is enormously rich and draws us endlessly in. Merry Christmas.

Over There

O Christmas tree, O Christmas tree,
What's Mr. Clinton doing?
In Bosnia the bonhomie
Is not exactly brewing.
Could Clinton be a Metternich
About to mastermind a trick,
Or will he dash off like St. Nick
Without much toodle-ooing?

—W. H. von Dreele

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

My mother describes you as the Master of Words, so perhaps you can help me to understand the difference between *utilize* and *use*. Why do people utilize the word *utilize* when *use* would do?

Thanks,
Martha McClelland
(a perplexed teenager in Houston)

Dear Martha: Well now, I am at the moment outside the reach of usage dictionaries, so I'll go by ear to the extent of opining that *utilize* tends to imply a mechanical exploitation, as in to utilize your standby snow-removal equipment. When your ear balks, no doubt it is when it detects periphrasis, i.e., the use of a word unnecessarily elaborated, without functional purpose. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Don't be so sure that a reduction in the national debt takes care of everything for you. Here are some figures to look at.

—The U.S. Government has *increased* the national debt in 112 of 205 years, beginning in 1791. The next five items include 53 of the 93 years of "balanced budgets":

1. From 1823 through 1836, the national debt was steadily reduced by 99 per cent, to $38,000. An economic "panic" began in 1837.

2. From 1852 through 1857, the national debt was steadily reduced by 58 per cent, to $28.7 million. A depression began in 1857.

3. From 1866 through 1873, the national debt was steadily reduced by 22 per cent, to $2.2 billion. A depression began in 1873.

4. From 1880 through 1893, the national debt was steadily reduced by 54 per cent, to $1 billion. A depression began in 1893.

5. From 1920 through 1930, the national debt was steadily reduced by 33 per cent, to $16.2 billion. The Great Depression began in late 1929.

—The national debt increased by 627 per cent from 1941 through 1946. Annual deficits were 20 to 31 per cent of GNP (recently 3 to 5 per cent).

—The national debt was larger than Gross National Product in 1945, 1946, and 1947, 129 per cent of GNP in 1946.

—The national debt was 74 per cent of GNP in 1954, 68 per cent of GNP in 1992.

John Jay
Saratoga, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Jay: I never said a reduction in the debt would abort the business cycle. But the figures are certainly interesting. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In the list of Popes in the *Modern Catholic Encyclopedia* the antipopes are marked with an asterisk. In the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* they are set off in square brackets. In a future list of Presidents, how will Bill Clinton be distinguished from legitimate Chief Executives?

Jim Pittman
Waco, Tex.

Dear Mr. Pittman: That is a contumacious question. Shall we leave it that he won't figure in the song, "He's just my Bill"? . . . Cordially, **—WFB**

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CAPITAL SCENE

The Nanny State Fights Back

STEPHEN MOORE

Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOR ALL the hoopla over the budget brawl, the real dispute between the warring parties boils down to this: President Clinton wants the Federal Government to spend $13 trillion over the next seven years, the Republicans want it to spend $12 trillion. The GOP budget is far superior, but, arguably, liberals win either way.

Why, then, are they whining so much? The night the House Republicans passed their budget-balancing reconciliation bill, House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt stormed to the press gallery and moaned that the GOP cutbacks are so severe that they "literally take my breath away." President Clinton declared in his radio address that the Gingrich budget "guts education, job training, and health care" while ensuring "dirtier water, more smog, more illness, and a diminished quality of life."

Mr. Moore is director of fiscal-policy studies at the Cato Institute and author of Government: America's #1 Growth Industry *(Institute for Policy Innovation, Lewisville, Texas).*

The media have been even more hysterical. On a recent late-night TV talk show, Michael Kinsley of *Crossfire* argued that the GOP's Medicaid nursing-home "cuts" would inevitably end up killing grandmothers and that the only real question was how many.

So much for raising the level of civil discourse in America.

And there is hyperbole from Republicans, too. Newt Gingrich trumpets the GOP budget as "a heroic fiscal achievement." Sen. Pete Domenici says passing the budget means a "vastly better future for our children."

It speaks volumes about the ingrained culture of spending in Washington that a seven-year $12-trillion budget—enough money to fight three World War IIs—is disparaged as pitifully inadequate by the Left and the stuff of revolution by many conservatives.

The truth is, it is neither. For all the admirable work that John Kasich, Dick Armey, Newt Gingrich, and especially the House freshmen have done to get the monstrously large federal budget under control, a fiscal blueprint that calls for $350 billion *more* spending in seven years hardly even begins to dislodge the nanny state in America. If this is all there is to the GOP revolution, then perhaps the Left has forever won the ideological battle over the proper size and scope of government.

Let's step back a moment and place the current GOP budget proposal in historical perspective. Forty-five years ago, in December 1950, *Fortune* magazine published a cover story entitled "The Budget Is Out of Control!" The article complained that: "As if its sheer size and momentum had made it untouchable, nobody in Washington seems able to eliminate the waste that everybody recognizes." It continued: "By any sane economics, Congress should . . . unmercifully sweat down the $42.4 billion that Mr. Truman plans to spend in the year ending July 1, 1951."

That is no misprint. Our "out of control" budget for fiscal year 1951 really appropriated all of $42.4 billion. This year Congress will spend $42.4 billion *plus* $1,600 billion. In the seven-year period from 1945 to 1951, the U.S. Government's budget was cut in half, from $93 billion to $42.4 billion.

Now that, Mr. Gephardt, is a budget cutback that truly takes one's breath away.

The early 1950s was the last, brief time-out in sixty years of relentless growth of government. Adjusted for inflation, the federal budget today is *four* times what it was when Ike was first elected. Government at all levels now spends $24,000 per household; in constant dollars this is up from $9,000 in the early 1950s. Meanwhile, basic government services are arguably worse.

The total tab for all levels of government today has reached the once unthinkable level of $2.5 trillion a year. With that much money our officials could purchase all the farmland in the United States, all the assets of the one hundred largest corporations in America, and all the books Colin Powell has sold in the last three months, and still have $42.4 billion and change left over. Will Rogers was right: "Thank God we don't get all the government we pay for."

NO OTHER industry in America has experienced the soaring growth rate that government has over the past four decades. In 1955 there were more than two manufacturing workers for every government employee. Now there are more government employees nationwide than manufacturing workers. Since 1955 the number of farmers in America has fallen by 60 per cent, but the number of Department of Agriculture employees has expanded by 50 per cent. The gut-wrenching productivity revolution that has transformed America into the most competitive economy in the world has hit virtually every nook and cranny of our economy, with the exception of the public sector. Government is the only industry where poor results and productivity declines have been rewarded with four decades of fatter budgets.

By today's standards, in the 1950s Washington did very little of domestic consequence and it did those few things reasonably well. There weren't 62 federal job-training programs; there was no

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Department of Education or HUD; there weren't battalions of $7.25-an-hour Americorps "volunteers"; and health-care costs had not yet experienced a thirty-year 6,000 per cent stampede of inflation following the creation of Medicare and Medicaid. Yet, strangely, most Americans look back on that era with favor. The dirty little secret is that this was a caring and civilized nation—and yes, we even had clean drinking water—long before there was a Great Society or such things as New Democrats.

Take a look at the chart below. It highlights the hyper-growth of federal programs over the last forty years. Entitlements, no surprise, have been the real Secretariats of the budget. For example, Social Security's budget has swelled from $25 to $336 billion. Social Security operates under the principle that the elderly are entitled to $3 of benefits for every $1 they paid into the system. But mention the program in the context of budget downsizing and Reagan Republicans are the first to stampede for the exits. So that's off budget.

Next we come to health care. Federal health-care spending has catapulted from $2 billion to $272 billion. That's a 16,000 per cent increase in spending. Here again, notwithstanding Michael Kinsley's tirade, Granny wasn't dying in the street from neglect before the age of Medicare and Medicaid. The $270 billion in spending "cuts" in Medicare now are predicated on the courageous goal of slowing growth to 6 per cent per year. Sadly, that really would be stunning progress.

Then there's the "social safety net." Welfare spending is up from $40 to $225 billion—nearly enough to buy every poor household in America a new Corvette every year—yet poverty rates are no lower now than before the War on Poverty started. In 1965 LBJ optimistically declared that the "days of the dole are numbered in America." We just surpassed day 10,000. Welfare mothers now on average receive benefits that yield them the equivalent of an $8.50-an-hour 40-hour-a-week job. A Cato Institute study by Michael Tanner finds that in 29 states welfare pays even better than working for Americorps. Yet, the GOP's budget is savaged by the Left as "a declaration of war against the poor," because it would allow the $224-billion welfare industry to grow by only 4.5 per cent per year.

What Washington refers to as "discretionary spending" has also surged. Forget the rhetoric about Ronald Reagan's assault on social programs. Virtually every civilian program has a far more bloated budget today than forty, twenty, or even ten years ago. Since the 1950s, education and social-services programs have grown from $2.5 billion to $56 billion. The Clinton White House valiantly declares that it will fight to the death to protect "federal investment in education" from the budget knife. A simple back-of-the-envelope calculation suggests that every $5 billion of additional federal spending on the schools over the past quarter-century has led to a 3-point decline in test scores. That's some investment. In other domestic areas, community development is up 1,600 per cent, science & technology is up 4,000 per cent, and transportation is up a piddling 500 per cent.

	Billions of 1995 Dollars		Real Growth
	1955	1995	1955-95
National Defense	$242.8	$271.6	11.9%
Health	1.7	272.4	16,374.2
Income Security	28.8	223.0	674.0
Social Security	25.2	336.1	1,236.4
Education & Social Services	2.5	56.1	2,117.4
Veterans' Benefits	26.6	38.4	44.5
Community Development	0.7	12.6	1,618.8
Interest	27.6	234.2	750.0
International Affairs	12.6	18.7	48.2
Science & Technology	0.4	17.0	3,937.8
Agriculture	20.0	14.4	-27.9
Justice/General Government	5.2	32.1	523.4
Transportation	7.1	39.2	453.1
Energy/Natural Resources	7.2	26.5	268.4
Offsetting Receipts	-19.8	-41.4	108.6
Total Outlays	$388.9	$1,538.9	2,957

Source: Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 1996, Historical Tables.

One reason the federal budget continually grows is that almost nothing ever goes away in Washington. You can count on one hand the number of major domestic programs that have been terminated since Strom Thurmond first entered Congress. To the credit of the House Republicans, the Kasich budget would terminate some three hundred useless programs, but the Senate wants to send them all to reform school instead.

The Pentagon budget could surely be trimmed some more, but military spending is not the problem. Most Americans are surprised to learn that national security takes up a smaller share of the total budget than at any other time in American history. In fact, defense spending in real dollars is only slightly higher this year than it was in 1955. Here's a provocative thought experiment: How big would the budget be today if non-defense spending had risen at only the pace of defense spending over the past forty years? The answer: total expenditures would be $480 billion—or about $1 trillion less than will actually be spent. So much for the fairy tale that the Reagan defense build-up "caused the deficit."

So here is the devilish question that conservatives must confront: Just how much of a triumph is a Republican budget that proposes to trim, but not extirpate, hundreds of federal activities that Americans managed to do without quite nicely for a century and a half? Has the forty-year era of liberal governance been so completely victorious that the idea of actually cutting the budget—that is, spending less money than the year before—is simply inconceivable?

There are many explanations for why the GOP budget falls short of conservative expectations. The most depressing theory is that the public can only stomach so much budget downsizing at a time and that Republicans are giving Americans pretty much what we want. But can it be that the GOP majorities would be imperiled by pulling the plug on the Department of Energy, art subsidies, Public Broadcasting, Title X, $50 billion a year in corporate pork, welfare for lobbyists and left-wing lawyers, and the Export–Import Bank? Many of these programs were preserved not because it would have been political suicide to kill them, but because a large number of Republicans have come to like these programs—and even believe that they work.

Political analysts are predicting that the most probable outcome of this year's budget clash is that Republicans will get 90 per cent of what they want, and then Bill Clinton will declare victory. In the end conservatives may agonizingly discover that Clinton has it about right. □

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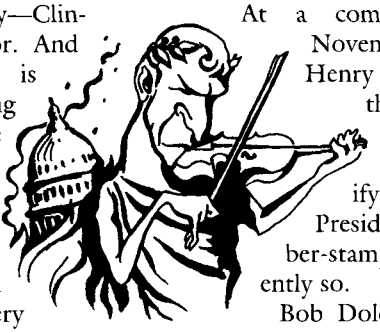
BREAD & CIRCUSES

THE IMAGES from Germany, where Bill Clinton visited the troops heading to Bosnia, were striking. Striding alongside the fatigue-clad soldiers with his shoulders squared and his jaw thrust out, Clinton looked . . . taller. The President is pumped. Forget Hubert Humphrey—Clinton is the Happy Warrior. And the Commander-in-Chief is no summer soldier. Feeling on Capitol Hill for the Bosnia mission is almost as frigid as the climate in the mountains surrounding Tuzla where the First Armored Division will soon be encamped. Every other party to the Dayton Accord displays a reluctance in sharp contrast to Clinton's enthusiasm.



National polls indicate that the public opposes deploying troops to Bosnia by a 2 to 1 margin. The Dayton Accord is not to the liking of any of the three warring factions in the former Yugoslavia, which yielded to U.S. pressure and which are only temporarily resigned to its terms. The Allies refused to provide troops without plenty of U.S. forces to keep them company. And had the Administration not presented Congress with a *fait accompli*, both houses would certainly have expressed their disapproval. But Clinton displayed a newfound talent for military maneuvers, outflanking his Hill adversaries.

The House has twice voted against committing U.S. ground troops in Bosnia. The House first voted against such a deployment on September 7. Had the Senate been forced to act then, it too would have expressed its opposition, at least in the form of a nonbinding resolution. Faced with this congressional disapproval, the Administration hurried to get an accord premised on the commitment of U.S. troops. By the time the House approved the Hefley amendment on November 17, providing that Congress vote to fund the mission before deployment of troops, the Administration was already warning that congressional naysayers might derail the Dayton talks. When the accord was reached four days later, the argument changed to one of damage to U.S. credibility if Congress did not keep the Administration's Dayton promises. So, like the other parties to the accord, Congress is reluctant but resigned.

At a committee hearing on November 30, a frustrated Henry Hyde asked, "What is the function of a congressman in this situation? Are we to ratify a *fait accompli* by the President? Are we to rubber-stamp decisions?" Apparently so.

Bob Dole is not himself just rubber-stamping nor, despite his public rhetoric, basing his support on the need to back our Commander-in-Chief. He and Sen. McCain have told colleagues that they don't like the Clinton commitment, but that it gives them an opportunity to remake it into their image, i.e., arm the Bosnians.

Most GOP senators will follow their leader. But some twenty will register strong disapproval. And despite what their critics will say, there is not an isolationist in the bunch: Inhofe, Nickles, Gramm, Hutchison, and Hank Brown (who sponsored last year's amendment to expand NATO). Most of them will argue that Clinton is giving U.S. intervention a bad name with his pointless adventures in Haiti and Somalia. They will not urge cutting off funds, merely state their opposition and seek to hold Clinton accountable for the results.

Politically, the enterprise promises to help Perot, who can say next fall: "The only things Washington can agree on are GATT, NAFTA, and sending our boys to die in a civil war in which we have no interest." Helping Perot, of course, may help Clinton next fall too.

Otherwise, how the President can be gung-ho for a mission in the Balkans where so many others fear to tread stumps Capitol Hill. The ignorance-is-bliss theory holds that the President has such a weak grasp of foreign policy that he is unable to appreciate the odds of failure. Other Hill observers believe the Bosnia policy is the latest example of the Administration's agenda being dictated by the random interaction of policy and politics. The shaky ceasefire reached by combat-weary factions in Bosnia and the Allies' stepped-up pressure for U.S. action coincided with Clinton's need to look decisive. Under this theory, the President confronts his core problem, the character issue, by displaying a willingness to advance his policy in the face of fierce opposition, winning plaudits from the press for his "leadership" and "resolve."

BUT these explanations discount how personally committed Clinton is to the Bosnia peace mission. Arguments over whether or not the U.S. has a vital interest in the Bosnian conflict miss the point under the emerging Clinton Doctrine. The deployment is noble, and worthy of liberals' support, precisely because it is *not* in our vital national-security interests. Like the U.S. missions in Haiti and Somalia —and unlike Desert Storm, which liberals opposed—the Bosnian mission is being undertaken strictly for the benefit of others. Under the Dayton Accord, the U.S. military becomes Americorps with tanks.

The Bosnian mission takes liberal domestic policy for a trip abroad. The government's obligation is to do good, and proponents of government action are to be judged strictly by their intentions. The aims can be fuzzy and the measure of success elusive because one means well. As long as the motives are pure, the ultimate success or failure of liberals' policies is irrelevant—just as with the Great Society. Bill Clinton told the nation that America's role in Bosnia "will not be about fighting a war," but about helping people, "especially children," secure peace. So despite earlier veto threats, Clinton could sign the defense appropriations bill in good conscience: the Pentagon budget is now the Children's Defense Fund.

As a child of the Sixties the President would be uncomfortable with the use of force in the service of our own (read: selfish) interests. But as a compassion hawk putting American troops at the service of others he stands tall and straight. The naysayers can be ignored; in committing American soldiers to Bosnia, count our Commander-in-Chief among "the few, the proud, the liberal."

—KATE O'BEIRNE

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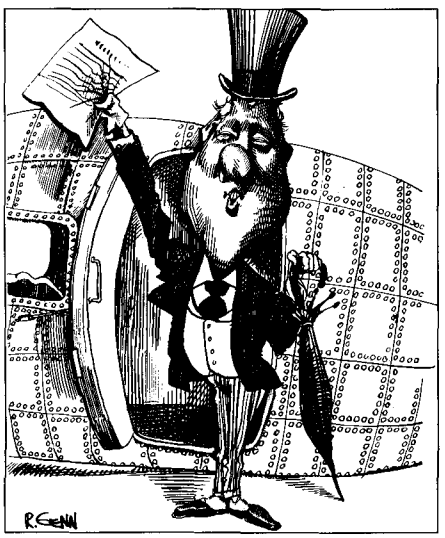
ON THE SCENE

Yalta in the Balkans

PETER W. RODMAN



Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ONE OF the better arguments for the Dayton Accords and the dispatching of U.S. troops to Bosnia was that putting the Bosnia conflict on ice would serve larger American strategic interests. One such interest was the future of the Western Alliance: the prolongation of the Bosnia war and the squabbles among the Allies were poisonous to the Alliance itself, and the resulting incoherence of Western policy was poisonous to NATO's credibility. A second key strategic interest was the enlargement of NATO into Central Europe, and prolongation of the Bosnia war was also complicating this. (During the climactic NATO bombing operations in September, Boris Yeltsin gave a tempestuous news conference in which he conflated the two issues, blustering that an enlarged NATO would soon be dropping bombs on Russia's doorstep.) The Dayton Accords offered us a chance, in other words, to put all these complications behind us and to refocus our European policy on our larger concerns.

These arguments for Dayton still hold, but NATIONAL REVIEW has learned of a stunningly duplicitous turn in the Clinton Administration's policy toward Russia, Bosnia, and the Atlantic Alliance: The President and his associates are reported to have given Moscow secret assurances that, in return for its cooperation with the United States in Bosnia peacekeeping, NATO enlargement will be put "on the back burner" for the foreseeable future. The rationale was that, given this demonstration of Russia's readiness to be a partner in a new cooperative "European security architecture," the extension of NATO security guarantees to Central Europe would not be a priority any time soon. This account comes from official and authoritative sources, both Russian and American.

It has long been understood (indeed, admitted by some Administration officials) that concrete decisions on admitting new NATO members would be put off until after the Russian elections, especially the presidential election scheduled for June 1996—which meant, as a practical matter, until after the U.S. presidential election as well. Russian officials interpret the new assurances to mean that if Mr. Clinton is re-elected, nothing will happen on NATO enlargement in his second term either.

The story is accompanied by reports of other assurances to the Russians that their cooperation on Bosnia would put the United States in their debt and earn them greater American understanding on other issues, such as their reassertion of control in their "near abroad" (Central Asia and the Caucasus, including the oil-rich Caspian basin).

As usual, this Administration has its strategic priorities totally bass-ackwards. It is wrong to pay a price to Russia over Bosnia in the strategic coin of our larger interest in consolidating security in Central Europe. It is wrong to sacrifice NATO enlargement to the Russians over Bosnia or over anything else. The Administration's repeated assurances to Congress and to the Allies that Russia would not have a veto over NATO enlargement turn out to be empty—perhaps just another of the "terminological inexactitudes" that have become so familiar. A huge price will ultimately be paid for this.

There is no current threat to Central Europe. The newly liberated states of the region, however, have just recently awakened from a sixty-year nightmare, still find themselves situated between Germany and Russia, and know in their bones that their survival is not guaranteed by history. They consider themselves part of the West culturally, politically, and morally; they therefore seek Western assurances that we feel we have a stake in their security and independence. Seen in this light, NATO enlargement is not a new act, but a consolidation of the post-1989 status quo: these are free, sovereign countries exercising their free, sovereign choice to associate with us. Either Russia accepts this, or it does not.

Leaving the security status of Central Europe ambiguous only leaves open temptations to Russian irredentists. NATO membership for Central Europe is among other things a way of telling the Russians that their acceptance of the post-1989 status quo in Central Europe is the *sine qua non* of any relationship with us. If the Russians have a problem with this—which they clearly seem to have—then we are all facing a *major* problem five or ten years down the road as Russia regains its strength.

The Administration's rationale for delaying NATO enlargement has been twofold. One is the claim that it will be easier to achieve such enlargement if we go about it gradually. But the nationalist turn in Russian politics, expected to be given new impetus by the December elections for the Duma, tells us that it will *not* get any easier. Russia is only getting stronger and more assertive; every month, the risks and inhibitions on our side will only grow. The Administration's second rationale (at least, so I suspect) is what philosophy majors will remember as Zeno's Paradox:

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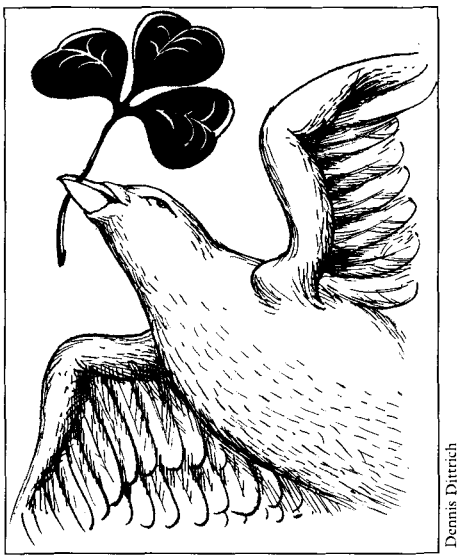
the idea that if you divide a distance into an infinite number of tiny increments, you never get to the destination. This may be the Administration's real calculation. In other words, it just does not want to enlarge NATO—for fear of antagonizing Moscow. The first rationale is bad judgment; the second is bad faith.

Whatever the short-term plaudits due to the Administration for putting the Bosnia conflict on ice, in Central Europe we are seeing a strategic blunder of historic proportions. □

When There Is No Peace

KEVIN MYERS



Dennis Dittrich

DUBLIN

THE television camera caught the moment perfectly: Gerry Adams looking a trifle stunned as he listened to President Clinton address the huge crowd in Belfast, apparently realizing that the forces of history were closing inexorably not merely on him but also on the entire Sinn Fein/IRA tradition. That tradition is an armed tradition—yet here was the President of the United States addressing the people of Belfast, not merely endorsing the peace process but apparently throwing the weight of his Administration toward a real, disarmed conclusion.

Adams—I believe—really does want an end to the violence which has disgraced Irish civilization for the past quarter of a century. But he does not want and has not been seeking a foreclosure on the entire tradition which he represents—the Sinn Fein tradition of a conspiratorial nationalism with, if need be, resort to arms. How strange it must have been for the former IRA chief to hear the President so forcefully embrace a peace utterly short of the aspirations of Sinn Fein/IRA and to realize: *This is as far as it goes, and I am in part responsible.*

Gerry Adams's reservations aside, Irish history has not witnessed a state visit so astoundingly successful, so brilliantly managed, so genuinely warm and so rich in spontaneity as that of the Clintons to Ireland. In that sense at least it was historic. The Irish are not a credulous people; they are quite cynical about politicians. Previous post–Kennedy presidential visits—those of Nixon and Reagan—were regarded with tolerant derision. The Clintons' visit was an utter triumph, from the first moments in London, in the aftermath of the American-brokered deal between London and Dublin, to a deeply moving address to a vast and enraptured assembly in Belfast, through to the final banquet in Dublin.

Even the most cynical and jaded observer—and the first person singular comes to mind—who was not previously inclined to be sympathetic to the Clintons, was left feeling an inexplicable affection for them. It was almost irritating. Nor was it just a personal triumph for the Clintons—it was also for the architects of America's policy toward Ireland, most notably Nancy Soderberg.

It all leaves one feeling quite giddy, like a great ride in an amusement park. But that giddiness soon ends, and we return to work. So what, in the long term, was achieved during the Clinton visit? The accord signed by the Irish and British prime ministers has been presented as a breakthrough, but in reality, it is not. It is instead an instrument of controlled deferral which will enable the two governments to face up to the awful realities of Northern Ireland in a measured way, outside the overpowering glare of publicity generated by the presidential presence.

The truth remains: the central dispute does not reside in London or in Dublin and to a large degree remains outside the control of either or both. Relations between the two capitals over the past decade have been so close as to urge the use of condoms. The recent pre-visit spats over the issue of IRA arms are no more than disagreements about cookie crumbs in the bed. Both governments long since decided that the *reality* of their relationships should not be decided by the behavior of terrorists or the vagaries of Northern Ireland politics, though specific policy details toward the North might differ.

The central dispute remains where it always has been—within Northern Ireland, where two racially and linguistically identical groups with two distinct identities (with certain perplexing overlaps in the center) have to share the same limited space. It is important to separate different elements here. The people of Northern Ireland are sick of war—but they have been for years. They want peace—but they have done for years. They adored the presidential visit—but that is over. And their response to the twin-track approach—unveiled by British and Irish governments the day before the visit began—which has been largely hidden from view by the euphoria of the visit, has in fact been guarded.

THE people of the province have learned to be cautious. The twin-track approach—exploratory talks leading to all-round talks at the end of February, while simultaneously a commission led by the affable Senator George Mitchell examines the issue of disarmament—looks good on paper. But even while the visit was taking place, old positions were being reaffirmed. Prime Minister John Major repeated: No talks with Sinn Fein before a handover of guns. The Unionists said the same, just days after observers in London, apparently forgetting the dreary realities of life in Northern Ireland, were yodeling with joy as if permanent peace had been signed, sealed, and delivered.

The problem is that nothing is signed, sealed, and delivered until the last veto has been cast, and Northern Ireland is one big Vetoville; not merely does each sectarian community retain a veto over all political developments, so

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too does any sizable faction within either community. And since no real opprobrium attaches to those who say no, the veto comes easy. In this ballgame, any player can walk off with the ball, and there's no referee to call *foul*!

LET us be clear here. The British and the Irish governments have said that round-table talks must include all factions in Northern Ireland—the largely centrist parties from the Protestant and Catholic communities, and those on the flanks. On one flank we have Sinn Fein and Gerry Adams. On the other we have the Democratic Unionist Party, led by that turbulent and implacable opponent of any reconciliation with Irish nationalism, Ian Paisley.

The sad truth is that this particular peace vehicle came off the twin tracks the day it was launched, though nobody has had the bad taste to remark on this. To switch metaphors, Paisley and his Democratic Unionists picked up the ball and walked off the field, denouncing the two governments' proposals, which are that political talks will go ahead at pre-round-table levels, while lucky old Senator Mitchell gets to listen to all those who want to bore his head off with their opinions about how to get the guns out of Northern Ireland—at a rough count, about 1.5 million people, i.e., everybody.

But round-table talks, to work, must include those on the right of the Protestant community—Paisley, after all, is personally the most popular politician in Northern Ireland, and his party attracts a bigger vote than Sinn Fein. Paisley's party has reaffirmed that it will never do business with Sinn Fein while the IRA exists.

In short, we are in a fresh stalemate, but a stalemate that has been timelocked not to be evident until the end of February, when round-table talks are scheduled to begin.

This stalemate should surprise nobody. It results from the simple division in intent between the two sides—and like all great and unbridgeable chasms, each side has merit in its stance toward the next logical step in the peace process.

The "moderate"—actually a worthless word within Northern Ireland—Ulster Unionists say that Sinn Fein/IRA cannot be allowed at the talks while the IRA holds onto its arsenals. We can't have one group sitting at this nice round table with illegal guns under it. Either hand in the guns—to whomever—or no talks.

Very reasonable.

Sinn Fein/IRA insists that no undefeated terrorist/guerrilla group has ever handed in its guns anywhere—and certainly not in Ireland, where most political parties have their origins within terrorist conspiracies, from which they peeled away to become fully fledged and lawful constitutional parties. So in a soft, soft voice, Sinn Fein points to the obvious reality—the IRA will not disarm. Face facts. Live in the real world, buster. The IRA is the Irish Republican *Army*, not a thousand Danish manicurists called Karen. Armies don't disarm until they are beaten, and this one isn't. We disarm only after the peace process is concluded.

Very reasonable.

Both sides are being reasonable—and that of course is the essence of any authentic deadlock. Both sides command logic and, strange to say, a certain morality. So of course the unionists are right when they say they cannot negotiate with a minority group which has not forsworn illegal violence. All democrats would understand their viewpoint instantly. And of course the IRA is right to point out that clandestine groups do not surrender their weapons short of a permanent settlement agreeable to them. All realists would agree that that is so.

In their recent disagreements, the British government aligned itself with the democrats, and the Irish government with the realists. Between those two positions there is no common ground. The English language is capable of many shifts and fudges—but "before" and "after," as in disarmament before talks or after talks, are immune to deconstruction or analysis. Time makes an infinity of difference. No? Then try sex: consent withdrawn *before* is maybe an irritation: but withdrawn *after* is life imprisonment.

And the dismal reality is that a disarmed Sinn Fein/IRA at talks would have nothing to bargain with—it garners just 10 per cent of the total vote in Northern Ireland, and less than 1 per cent in the Republic. In such talks, all it could do is to abandon its cherished ambition, for which it has conducted an unspeakably savage 25-year war.

Gerry Adams knows this; hence his expression while President Clinton spoke. The unionists know it too. Why, they argue, should the weight of a participant in round-table talks be enhanced by its ability to use violence for undemocratic ends? For ultimately, two, three, or four can play at that game, i.e., here we go again.

Time for absolute despair? No. The longer this fudge continues, the harder it will be for the IRA to go back on the warpath. Meanwhile, much real unification at a low level is taking place within Ireland. The border has all but disappeared—Northerners know that they have driven into the Republic only when they vanish down a pothole. Joint-government schemes, backed by the European Union, are transforming border areas. Southerners provide the backbone to the Northern tourist industry—and people *adore* peace.

Between now and February, some poor bastards from the two governments will have to relisten to the thousand rehashed arguments from the various entrenched positions. And George Mitchell will discover, at great, great length, how astonishingly boring Northern Ireland bores can be on the subject of guns. Still, it's better than war—though by February, Mr. Mitchell might not agree. □

Royal Rumpus

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

LONDON

WOULD the Queen be watching *Panorama* tonight, Buckingham Palace was asked before Princess Diana's sensational interview. "Her Majesty does not watch *Panorama*," came the lofty reply, "and she is anyway attending the Royal Variety Show this evening." To which the obvious answer was that she should get one of the younger members of her family to show her how to work a videotape recorder.

In a televised discussion immediately after the interview, Nicholes Soames, a

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rather buffoonish government minister who happens to be Winston Churchill's grandson and a friend of Prince Charles, said it had been "toe-curlingly dreadful" and that the Princess was in "the advanced stages of paranoia." He was afterward rebuked, off-stage, by the prime minister: but that first response, like the pomposity of the Buckingham Palace spokesman, served only to illustrate, in ordinary people's eyes, what the Princess is up against—the nature, as she would put it, of "the enemy."

The Palace establishment, the courtiers, have consistently underrated her. When the War of the Waleses first became public, they let their opinion be known that she would "fade away." Some fade: she is far quicker on her feet than they are. To do them justice, the transformation from a naïve girl, whose only distinction at school was for "best-kept hamster," into a vengeful Valkyrie armed with incomparable photogeneity took everyone by surprise, including her. We can all see now that she is far from being "thick as two planks."

She gave one of the most remarkable television performances ever shown; calculated, touching, adroit. The producers were very wise to keep what they were doing hidden from the chairman of the BBC and then to suggest, by prudent disinformation, that the interview was innocuous. Efforts might well have been made to prevent or censor the broadcast, and the BBC is notoriously vulnerable to such pressure. The plan to market, very lucratively, a video of the interview has been, at least temporarily, withdrawn, either because the BBC, losing its nerve, wanted to appease the Palace, or because the Princess, hoping to arrange a new concordat with the Palace, refused permission.

Some people claim to be bored by the whole Charles and Diana story. But then some people didn't like *Dallas*. The British people generally spoke of little else for a week. The tabloid *Daily Mirror*, on the morning after the broadcast, devoted every one of its 16 news pages to Diana. Sympathy, indignation, emotional and partisan reactions swirled around. The split between the pro-Diana and pro-Charles factions was absolute—but not equal. Polls showed public support for Diana running as high as 85 per cent. No wonder the Palace was alarmed. The *Daily Telegraph*, which has taken the most priggish stand against royal revelations, chose, rather than condemning Diana absolutely, to blame the BBC.

The polemical journalist and historian Paul Johnson compared the degree of popular commitment and division to such previous great disputes as those over the Boer War, Irish Home Rule, the abdication of Edward VIII, and the attack on Suez. He saw Diana as the offspring of her Whig ancestors, using the power of the people against the Throne. Recalling the eerily similar case of the Prince Regent and the estranged Queen Caroline, he quoted a remark that had been made in after years by their daughter: "My mother was bad but she would not have become as bad as she was if my father had not been infinitely worse."

Frederick H. Carlson

Nobody—well, hardly anybody—says that the warring Waleses are bad. Roughly, young people side with Diana, feeling that she speaks their language, even (or particularly) when it verges on psycho-babble; whereas older people, especially upper-class older people, whose tradition has been to support the royal family in all circumstances, are sorry for, and wish to shelter, Charles. Women are more inclined than men to "see through" Diana. Every aspect of the interview—clothes, lighting, psychiatric indications, body language—has been scrutinized and analyzed.

DESPITE Diana's apparent frankness, mysteries and inconsistencies remain. Was her telephone bugged? Who leaked her calls? What did she mean by saying that, although she didn't want a divorce, she never expected to become Queen?

A divorce would present no constitutional problem, and the Church of England—which, of late, has proved infinitely flexible—would no doubt swallow it. But the British people would not accept a Queen Camilla. Like Shakespeare's "base Indian," the royal establishment, in failing to cherish Diana, have thrown away a pearl richer than all their tribe.

However, despite alarmist frowns not only from the establishment but from much of the press, there seems no reason why the institution of monarchy should have been damaged. Royalty now is more interesting—closer, in a sense, to the people—than it has been for a very long while. The twentieth-century concept of royalty as glistening puppets, with impeccable private lives, their true personalities concealed, their utterances guarded to the point of vacuity, acting only on the "advice" of politicians, bears little relation to the idea of monarchy in which monarchists believe.

Diana, seeking now, in the wake of her visit to Argentina, some defined role as an "Ambassador for Britain," may well not understand—or greatly care about—the constitutional difficulty of what she is asking. Here indeed lies the nub of the problem, both for courtiers and for politicians shackled by a conventional attitude to such matters. Diana, with her curious blend of simplicity and deviousness, threatens to expose and, in so doing, to crack the whole fragile charade of twentieth-century monarchy.

To those who value the monarchy—and most people in Britain still do—this is a very dangerous way to behave. Some see it, therefore, as a republican conspiracy, in which the vindictive, publicity-seeking Diana is being used. But this is really nonsense. If her conduct and her (to the courtiers) unwelcome, inexplicable power force loyal subjects to think a bit more about the nature and appropriate behavior of royalty, it may be no bad thing.

Since Charles and Diana have presumably been made unhappy by the failure of their marriage and the tit-for-tat revelations, and since their children (of whose reaction, so far, we know nothing) must find the whole thing traumatic, this is a sad story. But it is also an enthralling one; not merely as a soap opera but as a human drama and as part of the pageant of history. What people in their right minds would want to swap it for a dreary succession of ceremonial presidents? □

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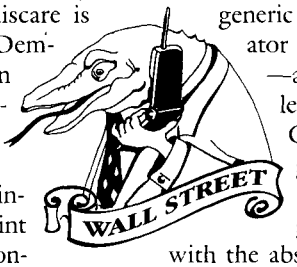
GEKKO

THE Administration has been feeling pretty good about its hard line on the budget. Since it bases its long-term policy on overnight polls, that makes sense. Mediscare is working, much of the liberal Democratic base is getting back on the train, Newt is widely vilified, and the Republicans are going to have to take a hit on their tax cuts. Administration leakers and speakers hint that they could live with a continuing resolution that would freeze spending next year, as a setup for an election fought on heartless budget "cuts."



Not for the first time, though, the Clinton strategists are probably kidding themselves. If they were smart, they would take this last chance for tax cuts, even bigger tax cuts based on Steve Forbes-like supply-side theory, as a way of avoiding disaster next year.

Disaster? With these poll numbers? What does Clinton have to worry about?

Let's turn to Yale econometrician Ray Fair for an answer. Fair has been tinkering since 1978 with a model for predicting the outcome of presidential elections, based on the economic performance of the party in power in the 15 quarters prior to election day. He disclaims omniscience, but his model does a pretty good job of explaining the outcomes ever since 1916 (before then the data are just too spotty).

Actually, Fair had to revise his equation after the 1992 election, since it had predicted a Bush win, based on economic growth rates and inflation over his term. Fair found that the equation could be made to work by adding what he calls a "feel-good factor." "Feel good" was measured by adding the number of quarters that GDP growth exceeded 2.9 per cent, a sort of modest boom. Of course the current Fed thinks that growth over 2.5 per cent has to be crushed like a crack epidemic. So far, there have been only two such quarters in the Clinton Presidency, the second lowest on record (after Bush, who had no such high-growth quarters to his credit).

What does the Fair equation show for 1996? If you use the standard corporate economic forecast of 2.5 per cent, then it shows a tight race, with the generic Republican (hello, Senator Dole) winning by a hair—around 1 per cent. Any less growth than that, and Clinton loses by an even greater margin. Interestingly, Presidents don't get blamed for or credited with the absolute unemployment rate—it's the sense of growth and hope or the lack thereof that seems to drive the voters. Alan Greenspan may have convinced the pols that growth is bad, but the people don't believe it.

■ The last week of November was a tantalizing but frustrating one for the goldbugs, who are of course natural conservatives. A Bank of England official, Terry Smeaton, confirmed that the gold bulls' case was essentially correct—there is a huge deficit in the supply-demand balance. Gold-lease rates in London hit an all-time high, before backing off a bit. What did the gold price do on this great news? It closed within a dollar of the price at which it had opened the week—around $386 an ounce.

"And now a request from Alan Greenspan for 'How High the Moon.'"

The Brazilian central bank's role in kiting the levels of gold leasing is now coming to be generally accepted by market players. While some are comparing the bank's chief gold trader, Nelson Lopez, to Nicholas Leeson, who has accepted a new position courtesy of the Singapore authorities, there are some important differences. One is that what Lopez has been doing—borrowing perhaps $12 billion worth of gold in the hopes that the price will go down and stay down—is legal though dangerous: if gold does finally pop up, he might not win the next popularity contest with the Brazilian taxpayers. The other point is that since he's already in Brazil, he can't just get on the next plane to Brazil if the pressure gets to him.

A tip of the hat is due to Frank Veneroso, who has now confirmed his credentials as the best analyst of the gold supply-demand balance. A lot of market people were skeptical of his insistence that there was a shortfall in the supply of gold of somewhere between 1,000 and 1,200 metric tons a year. Smeaton disclosed at the end of November that central banks had lent about that amount over the course of the past 12 months, which means there's a lot more demand out there than the standard industry sources, such as the Gold Fields Minerals Service, had acknowledged.

■ The bond market and the broad equity measures have been ignoring the budget negotiations in Washington, but there is one piece of legislation that continues to attract interest on Wall Street—the telecommunications-reform bill. I get more calls about that than anything else the Beltway types are up to.

Apparently there is still a good chance that the bill will become law within the next month. The cable companies and the Baby Bells are clearly going to be the big winners, and AT&T along with the other long-distance companies the big losers. The cable companies get deregulated within three years, and the Bells get to go into the long-distance business without having to wait for competitors in their local markets to get a head start. You may have thought Rep. John Dingell (D., Mich.) lost his influence when the House turned over, but the former Commerce Committee chairman is the one who really is putting the screws on AT&T, and getting Republicans to go along. He just doesn't like Ma Bell. —JOHN DIZARD

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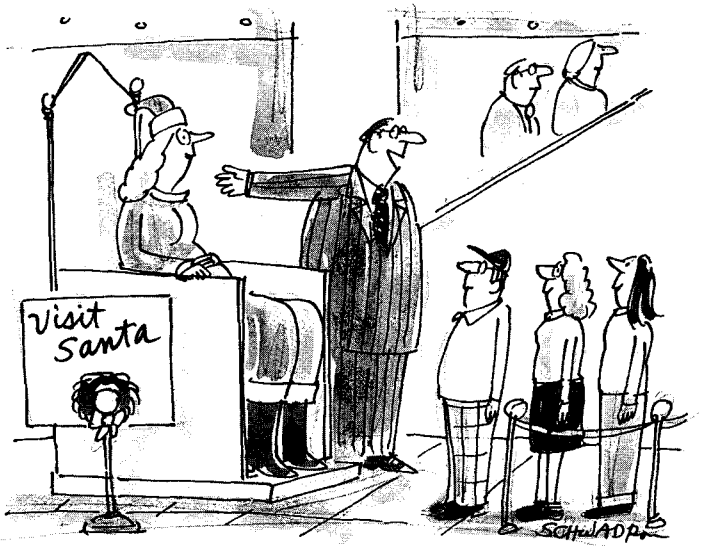
help

Please Do Your Part

Apparel isn't moving.
The Gap is one long sale.
In L.A. on Rodeo Drive
Clerks kick the Chippendale.
Nobody's using plastic,
So, Daddy, be a brick
And blow your wad at Bloomingdale's
For Mom and old St. Nick.

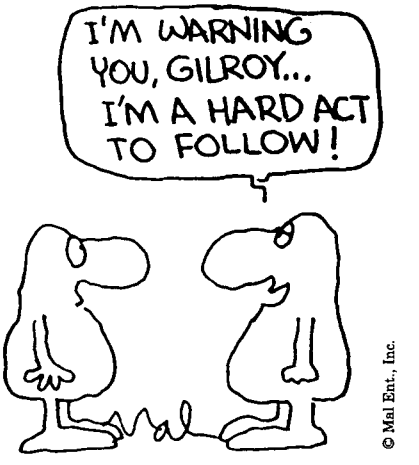
W. H. VON DREELE

"And how long has it been since you've felt jolly?"



"Kids, I'd like to introduce you to this department store's first female Santa."

"Only six months old and she's already been kissed by six presidential candidates."



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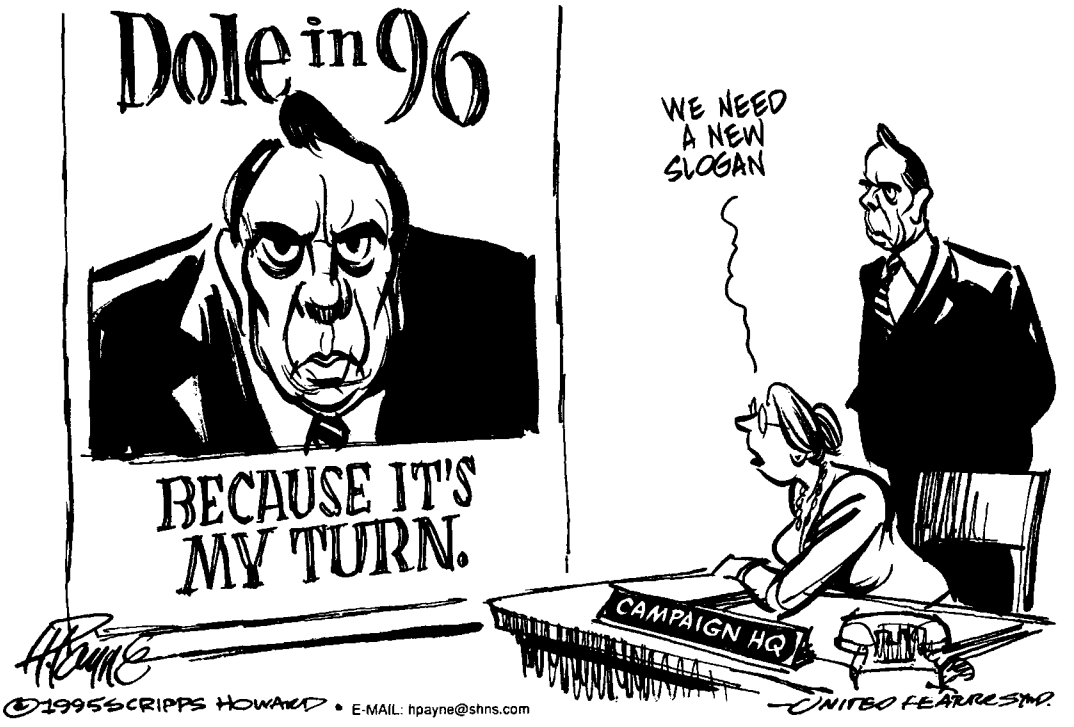

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TRUE CONFESSIONS

Miranda's Hidden Costs

The Warren Court's creation of a constitutional right not to be questioned has impeded law-enforcement efforts in ways that even the professionals scarcely comprehend.

PAUL CASSELL AND STEPHEN J. MARKMAN

CURIOUSLY absent from the debate within Congress about how to combat historically unprecedented levels of violent crime in the United States has been any serious discussion of the single most damaging legacy of the Supreme Court's criminal-justice revolution of the 1960s: the *Miranda* rule. While intensive debate has focused upon other aspects of the Court's revolution—for example, the exclusionary rule and novel forms of habeas-corpus review—*Miranda* today seems little more than an anachronistic remnant of the era of "Impeach Earl Warren" billboards.

One possible explanation for this development is that the impact of *Miranda*, while extraordinarily detrimental to the criminal-justice system, is largely a hidden one, while the costs of such innovations as the exclusionary rule and habeas corpus are highly visible, in the form of kilos of cocaine being removed from the courtroom and repetitive criminal appeals inundating the justice system. Indeed, the costs of *Miranda* are so obscured that even many law-enforcement officers are only vaguely aware of them. Estimating the costs of *Miranda* requires that we engage in the difficult exercise of comparing the present reality with the reality which might exist "but for" the rule.

For tens of millions of Americans, the *Miranda* warnings have been learned from countless televised police dramas in which arrested suspects have been apprised by conscientious police officers that "You have the right to remain silent; what you say may be used against you; you have a right to an attorney; and you have a right to a free attorney if you cannot afford one." Few of those who have long since memorized these innocuous words have paused to consider how they have eroded the ability of the criminal-justice system to carry out its responsibilities.

In its 1966 decision in *Miranda* v. *Arizona*, the Supreme Court by a 5 to 4 vote determined that the Fifth Amendment's prohibition against a person's being "compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself" required what have become known as the *Miranda* warnings whenever a witness in custody is subject to questioning by the police. The decision also required that police obtain a "waiver of rights" from a suspect—that is, an affirmative agreement from the suspect that he would like to talk to police. Also, if at any time the suspect indicated a wish to stop talking or to see a lawyer, police had to stop questioning immediately. Failure to deliver the warnings, obtain the waiver, or cut off questioning when requested automatically bars the use at trial of statements obtained from the suspect.

Underlying *Miranda* was a deep suspicion on the part of the Court majority about any custodial interrogation of criminal suspects. For the 175 years preceding *Miranda*, it had never been thought that the police were violating a suspect's constitutional rights merely by questioning him in the absence of an attorney. No, we are not referring to a police officer's beating the hapless suspect with a rubber hose or policemen working in shifts to keep the suspect from sleep until he finally confesses to a crime. Such tactics were condemned uniformly well before *Miranda*. To satisfy the requirements of the Fifth Amendment, a confession needed to be voluntary, and circumstances which called that voluntariness into doubt served to undermine the admissibility of a confession. Confessions occur for any number of reasons, including the simple desire to cleanse one's soul and the more com-

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plicated desire to explain extenuating circumstances. Under the voluntariness standard, police were not precluded from asking the suspect what knowledge he possessed about the dead body they had discovered buried in his backyard.

This old understanding of the Fifth Amendment's prohibition against coerced self-incrimination was sharply transformed by *Miranda*. The Court acknowledged that "it might not find the defendant's statements to have been involuntary in traditional terms." In other words, the *Miranda* decision was amending the Constitution. In place of the previous understanding, the Court effectively provided a criminal suspect with a right not to be questioned. If he was questioned prior to the warnings, any statements would be suppressed; if he was questioned after the warnings and after he had requested an attorney, any statements that were made prior to the attorney's arrival again would be suppressed. After the attorney's arrival, it was certain that there would be no statements at all.

If the criminal suspect incriminates himself through police methods that do not involve compulsion, that is a good thing.

In dissent, Justice Byron White observed, "In some unknown number of cases the Court's rule will return a killer, a rapist, or other criminal to the streets and to the environment which produced him to repeat his crime whenever it pleases him. As a consequence there will not be a gain, but a loss, in human dignity." Justice White was prescient, although it can hardly be imagined that the majority of Justices in *Miranda* disagreed with his assessment. Such a result was logically certain under *Miranda*.

The insidiousness of *Miranda* is that, by and large, the violent predators placed back on the streets are *not* suspects to whom police have failed to give proper warnings. After nearly three decades, the police not surprisingly have learned *Miranda* by rote and only rarely fail to administer its warnings or follow its waiver and questioning-cutoff rules. Relatively few criminal cases involve the suppression of evidence obtained by police after a failure to comply with *Miranda*. This is what many observers, including some law-enforcement officers themselves, mean when they contend that the system has "learned to live" with *Miranda*.

No, the enormous cost of *Miranda* is entailed not in the lapses of the system but in its successes. It is when the warnings are properly administered and waiver rules are followed that it wreaks its greatest harm. For what it has done is to substantially dry up access to a hugely important category of criminal evidence—confession evidence. It is almost as if the Supreme Court had told law-enforcement officials that, henceforth, they were no longer going to be able to use fingerprint evidence. No one would doubt that in "some unknown number of cases" individuals who would otherwise have been correctly identified as criminals would avoid prosecution.

Principally, *Miranda* has eroded the supply of information available to law enforcement by introducing the criminal's defense attorney to the process at the earliest possible stage. This is done, in a sense, by the suspect asserting his *Miranda* right to have an attorney present at questioning even before formal charges have been filed. The effect of this is to preclude entirely the questioning of many suspects because police recognize that such questioning would be pointless. By effectively insulating the suspect who invokes his rights or asks for a lawyer from any questioning, no matter how restrained or reasonable, *Miranda* has assured that far fewer confessions will be induced by questioning. For the *Miranda* majority, this was cause for celebration, not concern. But this is an odd—not to say dangerous—view of the world. As an earlier Supreme Court said, "the Constitution is not at all offended when a guilty man stubs his toe. On the contrary, it is decent to hope that he will." The principal legacy of *Miranda* is the creation of an environment in which everything possible has been done to avoid such self-inflicted injuries. Given the relatively modest intellectual faculties of many violent criminals, the incidence of such injuries had always been significant.

If the criminal suspect incriminates himself through police methods that do not involve compulsion, that is a good thing. It is a good thing because it results in accurate fact-finding by the criminal-justice system; it avoids the possibility that an innocent person might be charged with a crime he did not commit; and it promotes public confidence that the police have caught the right person. In other words, it is a good thing because it promotes justice through procedures which most Americans would view as fair.

The most compelling evidence of the desirability of confessions, and of the extent to which Justice White's warnings have been borne out, comes from the before-and-after studies done in the immediate wake of the decision in 1966. One leading study, done in Philadelphia, reported that, before *Miranda*, an estimated 45 per cent of all criminal suspects made confessions to police officers; following *Miranda*, that figure dropped to approximately 20 per cent. Another study, done in New York City, found that confession rates fell from 49 per cent to 15 per cent. In Pittsburgh, the confession rate among suspected robbers and murderers fell from 60 per cent to 30 per cent. Adverse effects on confessions were also reported in Chicago, Kansas City, Brooklyn, and New Orleans. The best-estimate consensus among all the studies done on the impact of *Miranda* is that a lost confession occurs in approximately one of every six, or 16 per cent, of all criminal cases in the United States.

THE other leading methodology for such calculations, albeit less exact, is to compare the American confession rate after *Miranda* with confession rates in countries that follow different approaches to regulating police interrogations. Such comparisons fully confirm the conclusions of the before-and-after studies. Since *Miranda*, American police appear to obtain confessions in perhaps 40 per cent of all cases. In other countries, police

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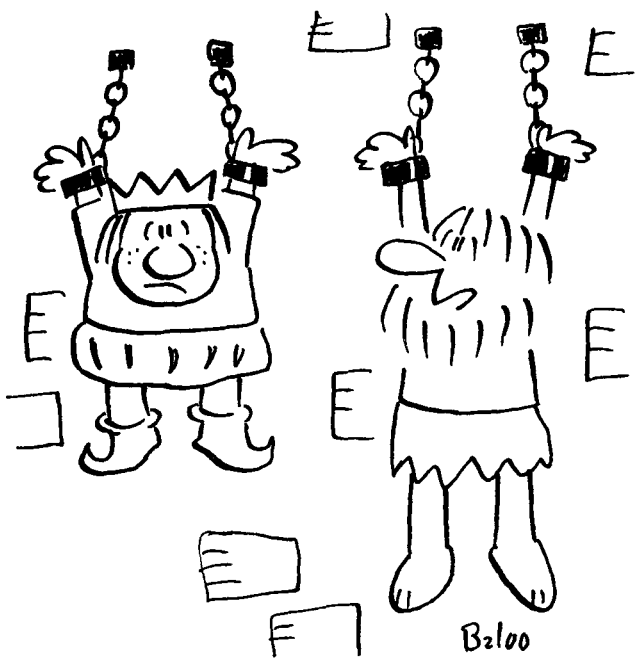
are far more successful. In Great Britain in the 1970s and early 1980s, police, following the "Judges' Rules," gave only a very limited advice of rights. Confession rates were estimated to be 61 to 85 per cent, well above reported American rates. In Canada, confession rates also appear to be substantially higher than in the post-*Miranda* United States.

Such declines in confession rates as have occurred in the United States since *Miranda* are extraordinarily harmful to the interests of effective law enforcement. Confession evidence, because it comes from the perpetrator himself, is compelling; but it doesn't stand alone—it is virtually always subject to corroboration by physical or other evidence. According to the available studies, in about one-quarter (24 per cent) of all criminal cases, confessions or other self-incriminating statements by a suspect are indispensable to a criminal conviction; in many more cases, perhaps an equal number, it can be surmised that they make some difference in terms of the severity of the offense for which a defendant is convicted.

A rough calculation, then, can be made as to the real-world cost of the *Miranda* rules. Multiplying the estimated 16-point reduction in the confession rate after *Miranda* by the estimated 24 per cent of cases in which a confession was necessary for conviction produces a figure of 4 per cent of all criminal cases that will be "lost" or never successfully prosecuted because of the rules. That figure may not sound very high, but the cost in absolute numbers of criminal cases is staggering. For FBI-index crimes, each year *Miranda* results in approximately 28,000 "lost" cases for violent crimes (murder, rape, aggravated assault, and robbery) and 79,000 "lost" cases for serious property crimes (burglary, larceny, and car theft). The bare numbers do not begin to convey the human costs in murders that go unpunished, rapists who remain at large, and treasured heirlooms that are never recovered.



"Sibling rivalry, you say?"

Additionally, the leverage of prosecutors would be reduced in a roughly equal number of cases, resulting in plea bargains more favorable to the defendant and less favorable to the public. Compare these figures with the likely gains expected from other crime-control measures, such as midnight basketball leagues or even long-overdue habeas corpus reform. It seems improbable that any other single needed change in the criminal-justice system would yield anywhere near the number of successful prosecutions that would result from repealing *Miranda*.

Further, all these figures must be weighed in the light of other figures from the Bureau of Justice Statistics indicating that roughly two-thirds of all violent crime in the United States is committed by repeat offenders. *Miranda* does not merely defeat justice in the immediate case, but prematurely returns to the streets individuals in this high-risk category.

IF SUCH a cost in "lost" prosecutions were compelled by the clear language of the Constitution or by the dictates of sound public policy, then society might intelligently choose to suffer the tragic consequences. However, the strictures of *Miranda* are not required by the Constitution—as the Supreme Court recognized in *Miranda* itself—nor are they improvements over alternative methods of achieving fairness and due process in the context of custodial questioning. *Miranda* instead is a "prophylactic" rule (by its own terms) designed to establish protections against violations of the Fifth Amendment. As Chief Justice Warren remarked in his opinion for the court, "[T]he Constitution does not require any specific code of procedures for protecting the privilege against self-incrimination during custodial interrogation. Congress and the States are free to develop their own safeguards for the privilege, so long as they are fully as effective [as the *Miranda* rules]." In a later decision, the Court reiterated that the *Miranda* rights "were not themselves rights protected by the Constitution but were instead measures to ensure that the right against compulsory self-incrimination was protected."

Responding to this invitation, Congress in 1968 enacted new legislation concerning police interrogation, adopting the view that such legislation would be "fully as effective" in maintaining the guarantees of the Fifth Amendment. The new law restored the traditional "voluntariness" test and identified the *Miranda* warnings as mere factors to be considered by the courts in deciding whether or not a confession was genuinely voluntary.

Because of the hostility of the incumbent attorney general, Ramsey Clark, who believed that it was unconstitutional, the new congressional enactment quickly fell into desuetude. United States Attorneys were ordered not to defend confessions unless they satisfied the *Miranda* standards. Although later attorneys general, including John Mitchell and Ed Meese, were cognizant of the statute and sensitive to the costs of *Miranda*, no serious efforts were undertaken to reverse the Johnson Administration policy or to secure any determination of the constitutionality of the law. A recommendation by the

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Justice Department's Office of Legal Policy in 1987 that an aggressive effort be made to test the law was never adopted as the result of opposition by other agencies within the Department.

THE time has never been better for a test case raising the 1968 law and challenging *Miranda*. Just last year, Justice Scalia wrote a scathing concurrence chastising the Justice Department for its failure to enforce the law. He observed that that failure "may have produced—during an era of intense national concern about the problem of run-away crime—the acquittal and non-prosecution of many dangerous felons, enabling them to continue their depredations upon our citizens." He promised to rule on the statute at the next available opportunity. Congress should make certain that the Justice Department gives him the opportunity by directing it to begin enforcing the statute and reminding the Executive Branch of its constitutional duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Congress need not enact a new law; it need only ensure that a law already on the books is presented to the Court.

A favorable Court ruling seems quite a realistic prospect. It has long been understood that the Congress has the final say on rules of evidence for federal cases. If the statute admitting voluntary confessions does not confront any constitutional barrier (as the Court has now plainly held), on what possible grounds could the enactment of the people's representatives be struck down? As the Office of Legal Policy observed in recommending that the legitimacy of the *Miranda*-repeal statute be asserted, "There is every reason to believe that an effort to correct this situation would be successful. . . . It is difficult to see how we could fail to make our case."

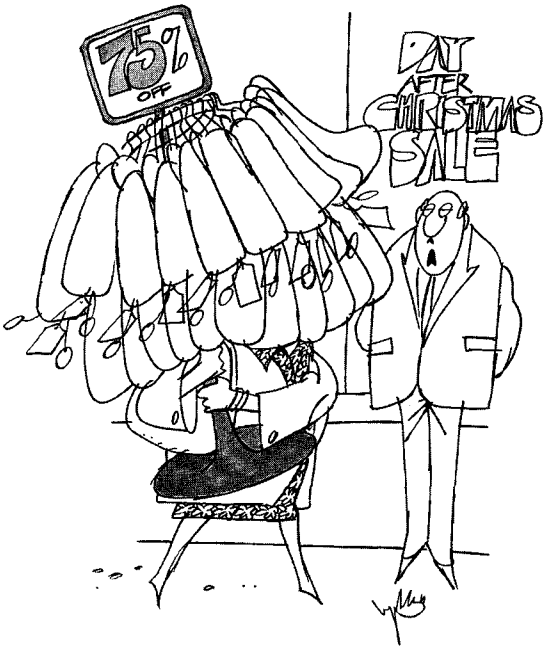
While the statute highlights the problems of *Miranda*'s continuing vitality in federal cases, equally perplexing is its applicability to the far greater number of state criminal prosecutions. The Supreme Court's acknowledgment that the *Miranda* rules are not derived from the Fifth Amendment leads one to ask how the federal judiciary possesses the authority to impose *Miranda* upon the states. It is an extraordinarily novel proposition of constitutional law that the states are limited in their criminal procedures not merely by the dictates of the Constitution but also by superintending or "prophylactic" rules invented by the federal judiciary. That such a proposition has not yet been challenged can be explained only by the states' tendency to rely upon the Justice Department for leadership on constitutional matters of this sort, as well, perhaps, as by an understandable failure even by the law-enforcement community to recognize the full extent of *Miranda*'s hidden costs.

Ironically, there are better means of enforcing the very protections toward which *Miranda* is directed. However, as is the case generally with the exercise of uniform national policies, *Miranda* petrified efforts by the states, which were widespread in the 1960s, to experiment with their custodial interrogation procedures and search for alternatives that might better protect not only society's interest in apprehending criminals but also suspects' interests in preventing coercive questioning.

Perhaps the most effective replacement for *Miranda* would simply be to videotape or record police interrogations. About one-sixth of all police departments in the country already videotape at least some confessions, and a recent study by the National Institute of Justice concluded that, in addition to providing safeguards for the suspect, videotaping also resulted in the improvement of police interrogation practices, rendered confessions more convincing to judges and juries, and assisted prosecutors in negotiating more favorable plea bargains and guilty pleas. Videotaping would also provide more protection for innocent suspects caught up in the criminal-justice system.

For *Miranda* is not particularly well tailored to protecting a suspect's rights to be free from coercion. Justice Harlan's point in his *Miranda* dissent has never been effectively answered: "The new rules are not designed to guard against police brutality or other unmistakably banned forms of coercion. Those who use third-degree tactics and deny them in court are equally able and destined to lie as skillfully about warnings and waivers." It is not clear why police using rubber hoses before *Miranda* would have thought it necessary to shelve them afterward. Furthermore, once a valid *Miranda* waiver is obtained, police are relatively free to proceed as they like.

No legacy of the Warren Court has been more devastating to the first civil right of individuals, the right to be protected from attack. Congressional conservatives may choose to place serious procedural reform off-limits. They may do this, in part, because of the burdens of leadership required in order to explain the relationship of procedure to the substantive ability of the justice system to protect society. They may do this because it is easier to deal with public-policy problems whose costs are more visible. However, if effective reform is to be undertaken, unsettling such settled areas of the law as *Miranda* will be required. Until that time, society can do little more than continue to count Justice White's "unknown number" of killers, rapists, and other criminals who go free because of the criminal-justice innovations of the Warren Court. □



"One to a customer, madam."

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GINGRICH v. BIG GOVERNMENT

Who's Shrinking Whom?

Newt Gingrich's problems could bring down the GOP majority–but without him there would be *no GOP majority. Can he stay on course while Clinton huffs and puffs?*

RICH LOWRY

THE CLINTON health plan may well have been doomed from the day Hillary Clinton and Ira Magaziner set up their secretive task force, excluding key interests and ensuring a wonkish, politically maladroit proposal. When Newt Gingrich undertook Medicare overhaul last spring, he had a radically different starting point. *Everybody* was consulted. He courted the traditionally hostile American Association of Retired Persons. He included doctors and hospital groups, both losers in past Medicare reforms. Insurance groups, HMOs, manufacturers of medical devices—all at some point or another had a seat around a table with Gingrich and other House Republicans.

At the same time, Gingrich led all the relevant House committee chairmen in a task force responsible for crafting one, unified House Medicare proposal. The Clinton plan had foundered on the dizzying array of procedural hurdles it had to clear in Congress. Gingrich, willing to step outside the committee system when expedient (and conversant himself with health-care policy from his work on a task force started by former Minority Leader Bob Michel in 1991), avoided the institutional drag. "We would never in my opinion have been able to resolve this and come together on a sensible program," says Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer, "without the development of the task force."

The result was a well-crafted plan that to various extents "bought off" the special interests while reflecting broadly conservative policy priorities. The American Medical Association endorsed the plan—its doctors would enjoy less regulation and would be able to make their own forays into managed care. AARP held its fire for most of the year because the plan avoided increases in seniors' deductibles, kept Part B premiums essentially flat, and allowed AARP to establish its own health plans. HMOs didn't appreciate the competition—especially from medical savings accounts—but stand to win big thanks to their new access to the seniors' market. And all this balancing occurred in the context of a bill that radically shifted Medicare toward market incentives and individual choice.

In short, nothing else in the 104th Congress bears Gingrich's stamp like Medicare reform. In formulating it he followed the four leadership steps he constantly invokes: "Listen, learn, help, lead." It's a classic instance of Gingrich going outside the "box" for solutions, breaking out from the logic of a Great Society entitlement. In its substance, the plan is a firm step away from the "liberal welfare state" to Gingrich's "conservative opportunity society." There's just one glitch: this landmark legislation, so artfully conceived and executed, could help end the Republican "revolution." The public's fear of the GOP Medicare plan—driving weak poll numbers and November's mixed election results—is exceeded only by its animosity toward the Speaker himself.

Newt Gingrich is the impresario of the Republican majority. He envisioned it, campaigned for it, and this year displayed an ability to keep it together that at times has bordered on the magical. Republicans talk quite sincerely of not knowing what they would do without him. But Gingrich's assets come with clear liabilities. His garrulousness has lately caused near meltdowns on the

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public-relations front. He is such an unsympathetic figure, at least as seen through the lenses of the major media, that Democrats declare him, also quite sincerely, their favorite Republican. Gingrich is becoming the fulcrum upon which the immediate Republican future rests, the crucial point of leverage that could either toss the GOP's nascent majority overboard next year or hoist it into a stable, commanding position.

NEWT Gingrich's life and career are, by now, excruciatingly well documented. Besides his own book, *To Renew America*, two biographies have been published recently, and he has been the subject of several interminable magazine profiles. With his Beatles-style mop of grey-white hair and sometimes awkward movements, Gingrich is like a figure in the Macy's Thanksgiving parade, larger than life, captivating, a combination of the grandiose and the goofy. During his rise from West Georgia College history professor to first Republican Speaker of the House in forty years, his legwork and self-promotion meshed with a facility for ideas that, for his fans, makes him less a savvy politician than an ideological guru and world-historical crusader.

It is this Gingrich who during crises in the House often has been able to convince nervous moderates or frustrated conservatives that their particular concern is smaller than the balanced budget or the House Republicans' place in history. The pinnacle of this sense of shared purpose may have come during a bitter fight between GOP moderates and conservatives in early August over a Labor/Health and Human Services appropriations bill. Eventually everyone gave a little, with moderates getting a last-minute, late-night appeal for support from the Speaker himself. Says Gingrich: "To see folks like Sherry Boehlert and Marge Roukema, people who really did not agree with parts of the bill, just decide they were not going to abandon the Republican Party, and they were not going to let us get beaten—it was a truly magnificent team-driven moment."

The initial impetus for Republican unity was the Contract with America, inspired by Gingrich and assembled by Dick Armey. It was part of a planning effort that would give the new majority a sense of early direction and cohesion. "I think what we accomplished," says Gingrich confidant Rep. Robert Walker (R., Pa.), "was the ability then to hold that unity throughout most of the year." Gingrich, meanwhile, took several steps to increase the influence of the Speaker's office. Critics warn that Republicans may yet regret this centralized power. But Gingrich points to the way he has run the House, which has indeed reflected an extraordinary flexibility (in keeping with the leadership model of FDR that he likes to invoke) and willingness to listen (in keeping with another Gingrich favorite, management theorist Peter Drucker).

"He maintains a personal relationship with a big majority of the Republican conference," says Republican National Committee official Don Fierce. "They meet regularly. He is accessible to them. And he understands where their problems are." Decisions are made at leadership meetings (Majority Leader Dick Armey, Whip Tom DeLay, Conference Chairman John Boehner are the core) that tend to focus on short-term tactical problems, and the Speaker's Advisory Group, a kind of executive committee

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which concentrates on the longer-term strategic questions. Gingrich envisions his House as just part of a broader "team." "It's not the House party and the Senate party," he says. "It's the Republican legislative party. And nobody has ever had the relationship we've had with Haley Barbour, who is the best Republican chairman since Mark Hanna, and the relationship Haley has helped us create with the governors."

The decision that would define 1995, of course, was to balance the budget, even without the Balanced Budget Amendment. Archer remembers a dinner meeting of key House budgetary players early in the year: "Gingrich looked across at all of us, and said, 'This is the most important thing we will do in our lifetimes. And I am committed to seeing it through until the very end. How many of you will be with me at the end?' And all of us raised our hands." From that commitment ensued a grueling effort—including a nightmarish appropriations process and risky entitlement reforms—that by all accounts couldn't have succeeded without Gingrich. "[It] was so hard that I really felt a couple times toward the end that I would not be able to sustain the energy to get it done," Gingrich says. "[Doing it] both intellectually and emotionally while being attacked by the President was one of the hardest things I've done in my whole life."

No rest for the weary. By the time Gingrich and the rest of the Republican Congress had emerged from their fall legislative grinder, the political atmosphere they had left back in August had changed dramatically; a large-scale ad campaign by organized labor, withering attacks from the White House, and elementary mistakes during the partial government shutdown in November have put the GOP, and Gingrich in particular (who, in this period of heavy lifting, failed to do his usual delegating), on the defensive. The Speaker's disapproval rating is approaching late-Nixon, hanging somewhere in the 60 per cent range. Like President Clinton last year, Gingrich has become the millstone his opponents hope to hang around the neck of everyone else in his party. How can a leader so widely credited with being a masterly communicator and strategist at the same time be such a dangerous public flop?

GINGRICH supporters answer: a "hostile media." Before last year's election, according to the Center for Media and Public Affairs, Gingrich received 4 to 1 negative coverage on television. After a brief "honeymoon" the first ten days of January, his negative coverage shot up from 27 to 67 per cent through March. But Gingrich is no mere victim of critical coverage. First, there are his easily exploited gaffes. He still hasn't fully evolved from his backbencher mode or tamed his boyish exuberance ("At heart," he writes in *To Renew*, "I am still a happy four-year-old who gets up every morning hoping to find a cookie . . .") Next, there is Gingrich's harshness, dished out to reporters in the form of words like "stupid," "dumb," and "lies." Finally, there is his nerdy demeanor. One pollster compares him to "the guy who used to sit in the front of the room with his plastic penholder in his pocket that knew the answer to every question."

Adding to the image woes are the ever-multiplying ethical complaints. Gingrich weathered a similar barrage after his taking down Speaker Jim Wright in 1989 made him the most hated Republican in the House; the Ethics Committee cleared him of those charges. Most of the complaints lodged against him today by House Democrats and by former Republican-primary opponent Ben Jones are manifestly absurd: his book deal with HarperCollins as a crooked pact with Rupert Murdoch; mentioning his college course on the House floor as improper use of House resources; the airing of the course by Mind Extension University, a cable channel, as an unethical "gift" (see George Tobin's "Mud Path," *NR*, April 3, 1995). But the Democrats will keep the complaints flying, to produce more negative headlines and more pressure on the House Ethics Committee to appoint an independent counsel, who, experience suggests, would feel honor-bound to pull charges of wrongdoing somewhere out of Gingrich's cluttered past.

Not so easily dismissed is the Federal Election Commission case against GOPAC. The FEC alleged in a 1994 lawsuit that the Gingrich-led GOPAC, before it declared itself a federal PAC in 1991, was illegally helping candidates for federal office. The FEC's case has always had a gaping hole: its inability to point to any particular candidate, as required by the presiding federal judge, that GOPAC actually supported. Now the FEC is charging that the candidate was Gingrich himself, citing, among other things, statements at GOPAC meetings about the importance of reelecting Gingrich and bills GOPAC paid on his behalf. GOPAC maintains this is a desperate reach (Gingrich was the *chairman* of GOPAC, so naturally he would get some level of support). But until the court decides, the stories sting. And in its latest filing the FEC conveniently released Gingrich correspondence with GOPAC contributors irrelevant to the case but highly embarrassing to the Speaker.

All this hasn't "decapitated" the Republican revolution, but it has given it a

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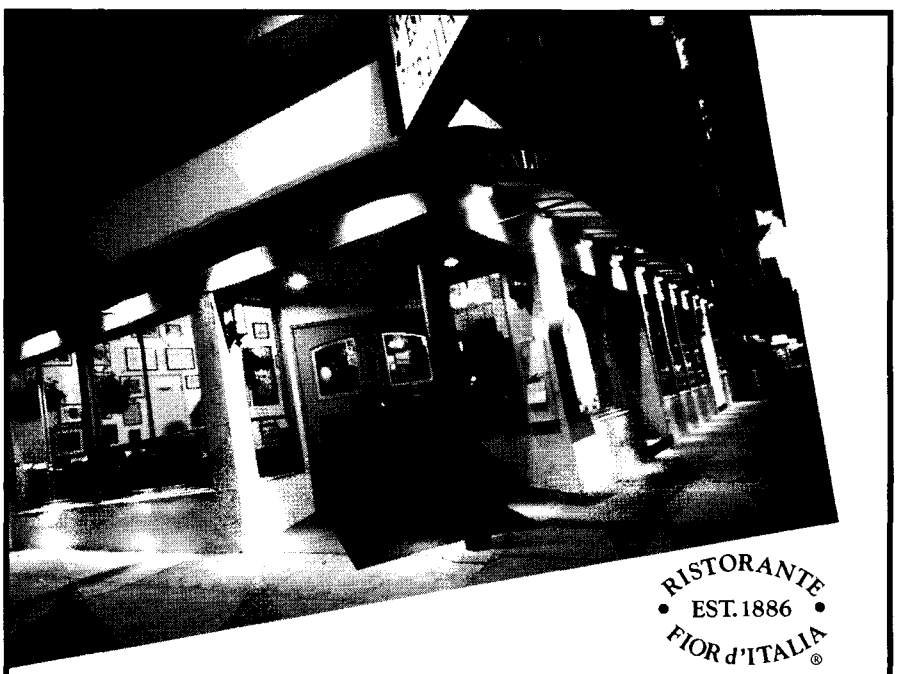
headache. Among House freshmen—Gingrich's "shock troops"—regard for the Speaker has slipped. Some freshmen complain about his penchant for making commitments that he then may abandon with little notice, and requests for him to visit members' districts are reportedly down. These rumblings led Gingrich recently to declare that he would take a seat on the "bench" for a while. The *Angst* over Gingrich adds to the disquiet of a House conference that was already uneasy (some freshmen are toying with a revolt over a weak budget deal with Clinton). The nervousness is understandable, especially given the worrisome results of last month's elections. Take Middlesex County, New Jersey, always a closely contested swing county. Christine Todd Whitman won it in 1993. This year Republicans got hammered there. The Democratic message: Medicare and Gingrich.

PART of the GOP's dilemma is that the balanced budget has swept all else aside. "Once you take on the budget issues, which I'm in favor of taking on," says Family Research Council president Gary Bauer, "they drive off everything else. So, all those Americans who were upset about gays in the military, people who would be upset about their tax money being used in China for that goofy conference—none of that stuff makes it to the front pages. And a lot of blue-collar people go back to their regular voting loyalties." The irony is that deficit reduction is hardly Gingrich's heart-and-soul issue. He has always been a "compassion" conservative, talking of replacing, not just tearing down, the welfare state. But this year he donned the green eyeshade. "I think he's been required to speak for the conference," says Progress and Freedom Foundation head and Gingrich advisor Jeffrey Eisenach, "and where the conference agrees, unfortunately, is on the issue of balancing the budget."

A truer glimpse of the Gingrich political soul came in his dealings with Washington, D.C. The chairman of the D.C. subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, Rep. James Walsh, had plans to impose a hard-edged agenda on the city. But it would have meant overturning D.C. "home rule," a step Gingrich disavowed at an August town-hall meeting with D.C. residents. The Speaker had hung his subcommittee chairman out to dry—and tabled earlier plans to make D.C. a jewel of GOP urban policy. "What I was setting out to do was usurp home rule, clearly," says Walsh. "I don't know what was in his mind when he said it. I'm sure he was very sincere, and he kept his word to them." Gingrich opted for a more conciliatory approach that won praise from Marion Barry, a flattering cover on the *New York Times Magazine* featuring himself and Barry ("stereotype-smashing," Eisenach calls it), and perhaps a chance to take a swipe at his larger, albeit vague, vision some other day.

Movement conservatives, especially pro-lifers, worry with some justification that this grander vision doesn't necessarily include them, that Gingrich is after something that has more to do with the technocratic "Third Wave" and an impossibly broad "65 per cent" coalition than with their gut issues. Although pro-lifers got all the votes they wanted this year, they felt they had to wring them from a Speaker who understands the importance of social conservatives to the GOP coalition but doesn't feel it in his bones. In this sense, Gingrich is more an activist than a conservative, a fact that he has always been open about and that is reflected in the presence of social moderates in his close circle. This has almost certainly contributed to his ability to hold the House together, but it will make for tensions in the long term, and it belies the contention of some supporters that Gingrich *is* the conservative movement.

But all that is for another day. The GOP die is cast, rightly, with Newt Gingrich's balanced budget. Redeeming the Contract was at least implicitly dependent on it, and after they swept into the majority Republicans felt a justifiable need to be bold. The GOP still has strong cards. The President blinked in the first shutdown once the debate became re-focused on a seven-year balanced budget. And once Republicans get back to basics—and begin to talk about some of the *positives* of their Medicare, tax-cut, and welfare plans—the current malaise is likely to lift. Even now, Republicans are running roughly even with Democrats in generic ballot tests. Gingrich, who after his recent battering will be taking a less high-profile role, says he still expects President Clinton to sign on to Republican essentials over the weekend of December 16-17, just in time to avoid another shutdown Monday the 18th.



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Whether or not that happens is, of course, crucial to any assessment of Newt Gingrich's first year as Speaker and of the immediate Republican future. But it's already clear that Gingrich has had an extraordinary run. From sometime in the fall of 1994, when he really caught the wind of history, throughout most of this year, when he rode it with virtuosity, Gingrich has stood astride American politics and changed its course, perhaps fundamentally. That he's looking battered is understandable (even if he has invited some of the rough treatment). But, for the next year, Republicans and the Speaker himself will have to undertake a Contract with Survival, working to keep Gingrich and what he has done from wiping away their 1994 gains. That would be a cruel irony, indeed. But, as any professor should know, history is full of those. □

May Cause Cancer

If there is a way to reduce the incidence of breast cancer, shouldn't American women be told about it?

JOEL BRIND

ON November 4 of last year, the *Journal of the National Cancer Institute* (NCI) published a study that the media have treated as an unscientific scare story, the way they should have treated the Alar and PCB cancer scares of years past. The study, by Dr. Janet Daling, et al., found a significant overall increase in breast cancer among Washington State women who had had one or more induced abortions (as opposed to spontaneous abortions, or miscarriages, which were not associated with increased risk).

The spin doctoring began immediately—and not just in the popular media, but in the professional medical press. In fact, even as the Daling study rolled off the press, it was undercut by an accompanying editorial warning that "neither a coherent body of knowledge nor a convincing biologic mechanism has been established." Articles critical of the study continued to appear well into this summer.

To be sure, one ought to be extremely wary of raising public fears on the basis of any one study in isolation. This is especially important when one is considering such a high-incidence, potentially lethal disease as breast cancer (now estimated to strike about 12 per cent of American women), and such a high-incidence posited risk factor as induced abortion (over 1.5 million a year). If even the modest, 50 per cent overall risk increase found in the NCI study holds up, that would result in 40,000 to 50,000 additional cases of breast cancer a year, once the post–*Roe* v. *Wade* cohort starts to reach the age range at which breast cancer becomes more likely. Clearly, the fears engendered by such a study would affect a great many people.

On the other hand, if the study *does* prove valid, it is important to note that the posited risk factor is almost exclusively a matter of personal choice, and therefore avoidable in a way that environmental risk factors may not be.

In this case, however, the study is not isolated. Evidence of a possible connection between abortion and breast cancer has been published quietly since as far back as 1957.

The attack on the Daling study began, as I say, with a debunking editorial in the same issue of the NCI *Journal*, written by Boston epidemiologist Lynn Rosenberg. Her own work in the field, published by the *American Journal of Epidemiology*, was seriously flawed because the breast-cancer patients in her study were, on average, 12 years older than the cancer-free control patients. Since the risk of cancer increases with age, this was an egregious methodological error. Not surprisingly, her study evidenced a relative risk (RR) of breast cancer among women who had had one or more induced abortions of only 1.2 to 1.3 (i.e., a 20 to 30 per cent elevation in risk). This risk increase was reported as not statistically significant.

Perhaps that explains why her study was publishable in an American medical journal. The same *American Journal of Epidemiology* declined to publish an age-matched study of New York State women by Dr. Holly Howe, et al., of New York State's own Department of Health, a study which found a significant relative risk (RR) of 1.9 for breast cancer among women who had had any induced abortions. The Howe study was finally published in the English *International Journal of Epidemiology* in 1989.

While the *American Journal of Epidemiology* did not publish the Howe study, it did (in 1991) publish a comparison of studies done in Sweden which claimed to "explain the tendency toward increased risk of breast cancer which . . . appears to be associated with induced abortion" by a hypothesis called "response bias." According to this hypothesis, cancer-free women are more likely to deny abortions they had, while women with breast cancer are more likely to report their abortion history accurately. While the response-bias hypothesis is plausible and worthy of testing, the only evidence the study provided was that breast-cancer patients reported abortions of which the computer had no record. It is on this that the 1991 paper bases its assertion that patients tend to "overreport abortions"—that is, to imagine abortions they never had.

Despite the absurdity of this evidence, the response-bias argument was mobilized to attack the Daling–NCI study. Harvard epidemiologist Karin Michels reported it to the *New York Times* as fact when the Daling study came out: "That [i.e., patient-recall-based data collection] is a flaw in the study design because women who had breast cancer are more likely to disclose an abortion than women who did not develop breast cancer." Lynn Rosenberg, in her editorial, suggested "the possibility of reporting bias" as a "limitation" of "major concern" in the Daling study, even though the Daling study itself soundly debunks the reporting-bias theory. So did the Howe study: while it revealed some misreporting of prior induced abortions

Mr. Brind is a professor of biology and endocrinology at Baruch College of the City University of New York, where he has been teaching since 1986. His research on the connections between reproductive hormones and human disease has included breast cancer since 1982.

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either as being spontaneous abortions or as not having occurred at all, it also revealed that the misreporting "occurred similarly among the cases and the controls."

THE first study (in 1957) to show a significant association between induced abortion and breast cancer (relative risk=2.6) was performed and published in Japan, and subsequent reports with similar results were also published overseas. Another large, age-matched Japanese study (1982) showed risk to rise steadily with the number of induced abortions (RR=2.5 for one abortion, up to 4.9 for four or more). American studies showing significant risk increases among women on the West Coast (1981; RR=2.4 for abortion terminating a first pregnancy) and on the East Coast (the 1989 Howe study) were published in England. Similar findings from France (1984; RR=1.2 for one abortion, 1.6 for two or more), Denmark (1988; RR=3.9 for abortion terminating a first pregnancy), and the former Soviet Union (1978; RR=1.7 for any abortion) also popped up in European journals. In addition to the 10 epidemiological studies cited thus far, another 12 case–control studies have appeared in the peer-reviewed medical literature. Four (two in the United States and one each in France and Italy) showed no overall trend of increased risk (RR=0.9 to 1.1); three (one in America and two in Japan) showed risk elevations that did not achieve statistical significance (RR=1.2, 1.5, and 1.5, respectively); and four recent studies showed significant risk elevations, two in American women (RR=1.23 and 3.1), one in Greek women (RR=1.51), and one in Dutch women (RR=1.9). In fact, the only case–control study showing a negative association between induced abortion and breast cancer was a 1979 Yugoslavian study which was atypical in other ways as well. For example, it showed no evidence of the universally recognized protective effect of having children.

As late as 1992, the influential *New England Journal of Medicine* published an apparently comprehensive review of breast-cancer risk factors which inexplicably made no mention of the A-word, despite the fact that 13 out of the 14 case–control studies published by that time were consistent with increased risk.

In 1993, Harvard's Walter Willett,

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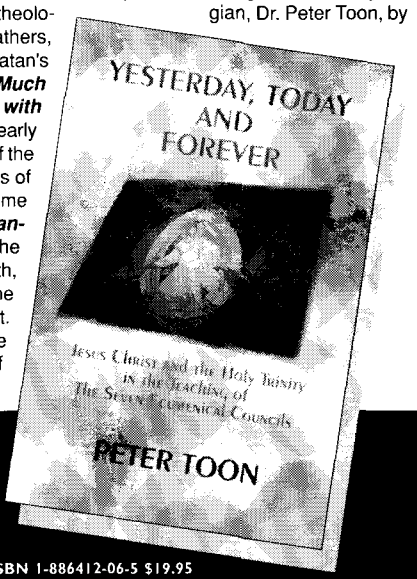

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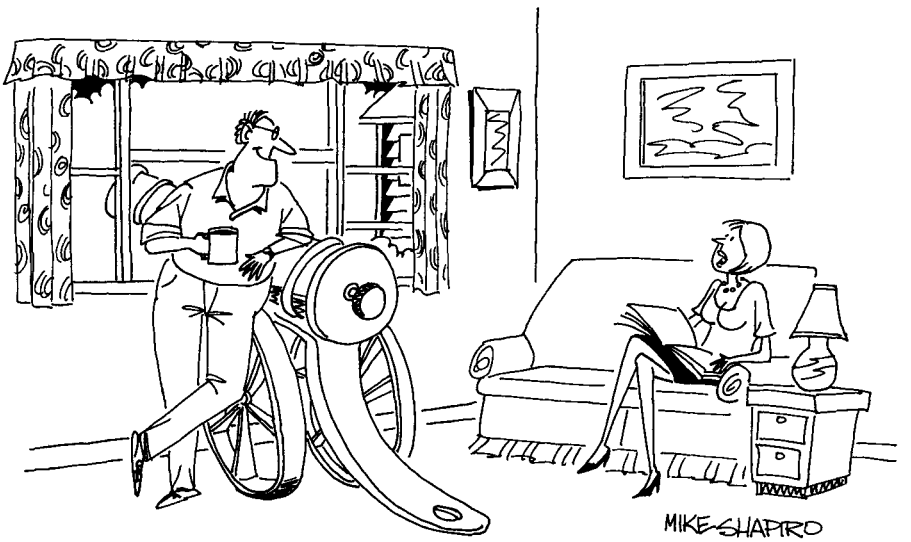
the epidemiologist among the four authors of the *NEJM* review, called this author "particularly sleazy in comparing a risk of breast cancer among women who elect to have an abortion with those who carry the pregnancy to full term." Willett's attack got curiouser and curiouser: "Of course the risk is higher among women having an abortion, not because abortions are a risk factor, but because a full-term pregnancy is protective." In fact, most studies correct for the protective effect of early full-term pregnancy. (Most studies also correct for such variables as number of children, use of oral contraceptives, and miscarriage.) They indicate that abortion *further* increases risk independently.

Earlier that year, the very same Dr. Willett had wasted no time in telling the world of a modest (though statistically significant) 65 to 85 per cent increased incidence of prostate cancer among men who had undergone vasectomy. The story was instantly picked up by the national media, even though the posited connection had theretofore been the subject of only a half-dozen epidemiological studies, with conflicting results. Subsequently, the subject was freely discussed in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and other journals. Apparently, the possible risks of a minor surgical procedure for men is open for discussion in America. Not so for abortion.

Adding to the confusion is the fact that many studies over the years have failed to distinguish between induced and spontaneous abortion. This was true of 32 studies published between 1960 and 1994. Results of these studies have indeed been conflicting, some showing increased risk, some decreased risk, and some no effect. That is not surprising, given the difference in the effects of induced and spontaneous abortion.

The reasons for those differences are straightforward. The first trimester of a normal pregnancy is marked by a surge of hormones from the mother's ovaries, including progesterone, to maintain the pregnancy, and estrogen, which makes the breasts grow. Most known breast-cancer risk factors act via some form of overexposure to estrogen. Normally, the high estrogen levels of early pregnancy are counterbalanced by other hormones late in the pregnancy, which differentiate the breasts into milk-producing organs, thus rendering them permanently less susceptible to cancer. However, if the pregnancy is artificially terminated, the growth-stimulating effects of the estrogen surge help primitive and/or abnormal cells to grow into potential cancers. Contrariwise, as more than twenty years of research have shown, most first-trimester spontaneous abortions are characterized by subnormal secretion of ovarian hormones, including estrogen, whether because of inadequate stimulation by an abnormal fetus or because of an inadequate response by abnormal ovaries. Clearly, the failure to distinguish between spontaneous and induced abortion is a fatal weakness in any study.

Other confounding variables, such as socioeconomic class, race/ethnicity, and diet may also contribute to apparent increases in breast-cancer risk, and these are controlled for (sometimes well and sometimes not so well) by the selection of an appropriate control group. All in all, the best evidence for the real existence of a link between induced abortion and breast cancer is that it has been repeatedly observed in so many studies in different countries of widely varying ethnicity, diet and other lifestyle factors, and baseline breast-cancer incidence, and over a time span of almost four decades.



"Really, Harry, must you constantly flaunt the Second Amendment?"

THE American medical media's wall of silence on the possible link between abortion and breast cancer was first breached in December 1993 in the African-American *Journal of the National Medical Association*. As Dr. Amelia Laing, et al., noted in the introduction to their age-matched Howard University study of over 1,000 black women, "Breast cancer is the leading cause of cancer mortality in black women," and "among women under the age of 50, the mortality rate in whites has declined, while it has increased in blacks." Thus (with black women also heavily overrepresented among abortion clients) there was a compelling interest in publishing their findings of significantly elevated risk among black women with any induced abortions (RR=2.7), risk which steadily rose with age until it reached 4.7 in the fifty-and-over group (which made up the majority of the study population).

The Howard University study was ignored by the mainstream popular press. Even the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which heralded the Daling–NCI study, made no mention of the Howard study in a 3,000-word feature story on breast cancer in black women, written two months after the Daling–NCI story.

The media also have ignored three additional studies published this year that reconfirmed the significant findings of the Daling–NCI study. One of these, a study of women in Greece, constituted part of the doctoral thesis of Harvard epidemiologist Loren Lipworth. Among Lipworth's co-authors is the same Karin Michels who was interviewed about the Daling–NCI study by the *New York Times*, which reported: "Ms. Michels said she had reviewed in detail 40 published studies on abortion and breast cancer and had found no evidence of an increased risk." This story appeared one week after the Lipworth study she co-authored—which confirmed Daling's finding of 50 per cent increased risk—was submitted to the *International Journal of Cancer*.

Reporters are unquestionably in a difficult position when the people they

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should be able to turn to for accurate information refuse to provide it. Even Dr. Clark Heath, vice president of epidemiology and surveillance research at no less than the American Cancer Society, cited the unsubstantiated "reporting bias" argument when queried by a reporter about the Daling–NCI study, as reported by the *Washington Times*. He reacted as one hardly concerned, let alone alarmed, about a potential cancer risk that women might avoid, if given an informed choice: "Overall, it's a bit of a wash," he said.

One would have presumed that someone in Dr. Heath's position would be familiar with the considerable body of epidemiological data that has been gathered around the world for decades. One might also have expected him to point out a particularly disturbing fact in the Daling–NCI study: of the more than 1,600 women in the study, there were 12 who a) had had one or more abortions before age 18 and who b) also had a family history of breast cancer; all 12 were in the cancer-patient group, making the relative risk incalculably high for women with both of these risk factors. But that disturbing finding didn't make the news either.

Instead, denial from high places has even turned to outright disinformation. Dr. Devra Lee Davis, Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary for Health, juxtaposed, for the *Washington Post* (March 14, 1995), the long-standing legality of abortion in Japan with the fact that Japan has "the world's lowest breast-cancer rate." Dr. Davis thus suggested the absence of a connection between abortion and breast cancer. But all four Japanese epidemiological studies show a higher incidence of breast cancer among the small minority of Japanese women who have actually had any abortions.

Even more brazen was a piece written for the February 1995 *Elle* magazine by Assistant Surgeon General Susan Blumenthal, in which she said that "the [Daling–NCI] study did not consider the effect of birth-control pills," adding that "it is vital to rule out the effect of the Pill in any study of breast-cancer risks." It is also vital to get your facts straight. Not only did the Daling study "consider the effect of birth-control pills," but the possible effect of oral contraceptives on breast-cancer risk was a major focus of the study. My call to Dr. Blumenthal's office was returned by her assistant Teddy Fine, who doubted that a published correction was possible, since "the water is so far past the bridge at this point."

Yet five months further downstream, the pre-eminent professional journal, *Science*, skewered *New York Times* reporter Lawrence Altman for having given the Daling study any credence whatsoever back in 1994 (his story had run under the headline: "New Study Links Abortions and Increase in Breast Cancer Risk"). "Inevitably," said Charles Mann in the *Science* article, "public attention was directed to a risk that is unlikely to be real." Mann based this conclusion entirely on the assumption that Karin Michels was telling the truth. All Mann did was wrap her lie in more elegant imagery, as he called the Daling study "the one positive result in a sea of negative data." My polite corrective letter to the editor of *Science* drew only a form letter expressing "regret" over "space restrictions."

Most recently, on September 30, the literal eve of "Breast Cancer Awareness Month," the English medical journal *The Lancet* published an apparently comprehensive review article, "Breast Cancer: Cause and Prevention," by Drs. B. S. Hulka and A. T. Stark of the University of North Carolina. Claiming, "We focus on primary prevention," these authors somehow failed to mention the most obviously preventable risk factor for breast cancer: induced abortion.

One needn't look very far to find the motivation behind the increasingly desperate attempts to prevent public access to the considerable body of evidence of a connection between induced abortion and breast cancer: the reputation of abortion as safe for women is crucial to the "pro-choice" movement. The American Medical Association staunchly maintains that the risk of dying in childbirth is 12 times greater than the risk of dying from an abortion. Now, the risk of dying in childbirth is less than 5 in 100,000. If the overall increase in breast-cancer risk caused by induced abortion is even the modest 50 per cent suggested by numerous studies, that would raise lifetime risk from 12 per cent to 18 per cent—an increased incidence of 6,000 per 100,000 women who have had any abortions. Even with a breast-cancer cure rate of 75 per cent, the increase in the death rate from induced abortion would calculate out to 1,500 per 100,000, making abortion 300 times more likely to result in death to a woman than childbirth. But mentioning that would be *very* un-PC. □

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Before you say no . . .

A Correspondence, Nonfictional, between a Young Boy, a Housewife, a Headmaster, and the Young Boy's Brother

ALOISE BUCKLEY HEATH

March 7, 1958

Dear Mrs. Heath:

I wish to ask you a great favor. My brother David goes to Cranwell and he says they go easier on brothers, so I might have a chance to get in even though my grades aren't so terribly good. But I need three letters of recommendation and I have one from a priest and one from a nun and my father says he thinks the third one better be from someone who is not a priest or a nun. You are not a priest or a nun but yet you know me intamitely from me having delivered your paper even that bad day right after Christmas when their was no school and the *Times* boy didn't deliver his customers, and from those Catholic Christmas cards you always buy, and from the jack lantern pumpkins I helped you carve three years in a row, and the Easter Eggs, and a lot of other things. (Like the time I picked up John when he broke his arm and taught Priscilla how to ride a two-wheeler.)

Before you say no, I did break the trampoline but I didn't honestly know how heavy I was, because I grew very suddenly and the only reason I was always on the roof was because of my gliders which you said I could get if they were on the roof, and the time you wouldn't let me come in your back yard for three weeks that time, Catholic Word of Honor, John started it and it was not my fault because Scout's Honor, I only gave John the most compleatly gentle kind of tap so he would go home so Georgie Cunningham wouldn't beat him up, because you know how Georgie is when he gets mad. Because John threw a mud ball at him on his bicycle. Not that you were wrong, but that I'm explaning now, because you were so mad then you wouldn't give me a chance to explane, because John got their first and he fed you a lot of garbage. But I still like John, he is a fine young boy, he has been well brought up by his Mother.

But even if sometimes you don't get along with me too well, I always think of you as my "Oldest Friend" so I hope you will do me this great favor of writing me a letter of recommandation.

Thanking you for your trouble,

Respectfully yours,

PETER BAILEY-GATES

P.S.: Thank you for the pennies of which I already had the 1926 San Francisco mint but I did not have the 1921 Denver. Do you have a 1905 Indian Head, I will pay one nickel, clear profit of four (4)¢?

Respectfully yours,

PETER BAILEY-GATES

March 7, 1958

Dear Peter:

I would be glad to write you a letter of recommendation to Cranwell, and I am very flattered that you asked me. Of course, I will have to tell the Truth, the Whole Truth, and Nothing but the Truth, so I hope nobody will be careless enough to allow my letter to fall into the hands of the police. I can't tell you how much I would miss you if you had to spend the next ten years in a reformatory.

Respectably yours,

MRS. H.

P.S.: No, I haven't got a 1905 Indian Head, which saddens me very much, but what saddens me more is the fact that even after three years' acquaintanceship you don't know me well enough to realize that I also know that this particular penny is worth $6! You and your 4¢ profit—hah! I've told you and *told* you about my high IQ. Don't you believe me? However, just to show you I bear no grudge, I will give you my duplicate of the 1911 no mint mark—for free yet!

Respectably yours,

MRS. H.

P.P.S.: Don't worry about my letter. I will bet you one dollar (from me) to one doughnut (from you) that you will get into Cranwell—not because you're such a hot-shot, you understand, but because if I'm crazy enough to like you, your priest and your nun are probably

A story by the late Aloïse Buckley Heath is an NR *Christmas tradition. Her collection,* Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell? *is available from National Review Books.*

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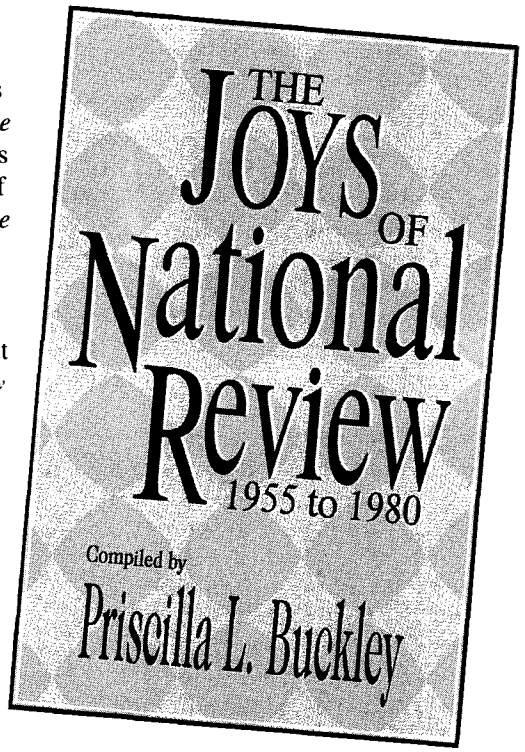

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suffering from the same form of insanity. On the other hand, they may know you even better than I do, God help them!

Respectably yours,
MRS. H.

March 9, 1958

To Whom It May Concern:

Peter Bailey-Gates has been in and out of my house almost daily for the past three years—by "almost" I mean those short sentences of exile which I have been unkind enough to impose upon Peter—and in that time I have come to know him very well indeed: as friend, paper boy, fellow penny-collector, and combined decorator, waiter, and entertainer at my younger children's birthday parties.

I have found Peter to be unfailingly good-humored, well-mannered, and considerate—all of which qualities stand him in good stead in his relations with the public, which are many and varied. I am sure that no boy in New England, much less in West Hartford, has been engaged in so many intricate business enterprises as Peter Bailey-Gates. I have bought, hired, subscribed to, invested in, paid and been paid interest on fully a dozen of his ventures in the last three years—not even counting his snow-shoveling, leaf-raking, apple-picking, and garbage-can-toting, for which my own young sons are recruited. Peter's financial sense is, however, no deterrent to his feeling for what is fitting and proper: when he washed the car of the seventy-year-old spinster who lives nearby, for instance, he was careful to explain (lest I should find out, I suppose!) that he had refused payment only because she had "no man to make money for her"; again, when he asked me to take an ad in his projected *Colony Road News* and I was so irreverent as to reserve two inches of space for the slogan "HOORAY FOR MRS. HEATH," Peter offered to refund my dollar because he had caused my ad to appear as "COMPLIMENTS OF A FRIEND." I must, however, state categorically that Peter has faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled his share of every and any contract between us, whatever it may have been. (And the fact that one or two of these contracts have been rather clearer to Peter than to me has been indignantly attributed by my own children to my habit of doing jigsaw puzzles, reading, watching television programs, and saying "Uh-hunh" simultaneously, when I should have been *listening*. My husband affirms this judgment.)

Lest my young friend sound barely lower than the angels, I must add that his fertile imagination combined with his 13-year-old sense of humor has led, on occasion, to my addressing him with harsh words and unkind ("You know perfectly well that when I told you last Tuesday you could climb up on the roof to get your glider, I didn't mean you could buy ten *more* gliders and *aim* them at the—and by the way, I hope you didn't buy them with the lottery money for the bicycle horn—when are you going to *have* that lottery, anyway? I bought those tickets six weeks ago!" And much more). These irrational, if predictable, crises of the adult world leave Peter possibly repentant, probably remorseful, but certainly unruffled. He is more sophisticated today than three years ago, when, at the age of ten, he frequently urged me not to get my liver in a quiver. Today, when Peter and I have what he refers to as "a difference of opinion," he retires with complete equanimity to his own back yard until such time as my ill-humor subsides. My change of mood is apparently picked up by Peter's extrasensory perception within the hour, for whenever I decide that the time has come for forgiving and forgetting, he appears at my front door within 15 minutes, to assure me *he* has forgiven and forgotten. By way of proof (or penance?) he then resumes without rancor his status as our daily visitor.

Needless to say, our friendship is steadfast.

ALOISE BUCKLEY HEATH
(Mrs. Benjamin Wild Heath)

March 15, 1958

CRANWELL PREPARATORY SCHOOL
Office of the Principal

Mrs. Benjamin Wild Heath
29 Colony Road
West Hartford, Connecticut

Dear Mrs. Heath:

I am very grateful to you for your detailed and colorful description of Peter Bailey-Gates.

Many of Peter's accomplishments can be put to good use at School. Leaf-raking and snow-shoveling are part of the punitive curriculum. Endowed with all the energy which you describe, I am sure that Peter will be an early candidate for demerits.

We will try to keep pace with Peter. What substitute we will have when the occasion arises for Peter to "retire to his own back yard" we will try to figure out during the year.

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES E. BURKE, SJ
(Rev.) Charles E. Burke, SJ
Principal

March 15, 1958

Dear Mimi and Dad:

Please excuse the paper, for I'm in study hall, and since something happened tonight, which made me feel pretty proud of my little (little? Ha Ha) brother Peter, I thought I'd tell you about it, unless you already know. This has also changed practically my entire attitude toward Father Burke who has practically never been known to crack a smile in the memory of the oldest graduate.

Not more than five minutes ago, during the break between study-hall hours, Father Burke called me and showed me a letter which Mrs. Heath had written to him about Peter. It described Peter to a tee. All of the letter was praiseworthy about him, and had been written just about Peter and nothing else. Father Burke was astonished and asked me if it was all true, and I told him it was, and he said in that case *Peter gets in*!!

Say hello to the little kids for me please, and tell them "Big Dave" will be home soon.

Love and prayers,
YOUR SON DAVID

March 15, 1958

Dear Pete—Boy, does Mrs. Heath sure have your number. Father Burke said he can hardly wait to get you up here to knock it out of you. Love and kisses.

DAVE

Bird Word

I'm fond of fruit. And, truth to tell,
I dote on birds. But come Noël
I think I simply cannot bear
Another partridge. Or a pear.

MAUREEN CANNON

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

December 3, 1995

Dear Rusty,

What can I say? We're on a roll!

Peace in Bosnia! Can you believe it? I had a little trouble with the complexities of the agreement, to be honest. I gave Dick Holbrooke a buzz and said, "Hey, Dick, when you get a sec, I'd like to have a quick debrief on the peace talks."

"Absolutely, Mr. Vice President," he said. "How's mid-morning coffee on February 11th strike you?"

"Um, to be honest, Dick, I was hoping for something sooner."

"Sooner?"

"As in today, tomorrow, that sort of thing."

"Can I be totally honest with you, Mr. Vice President? Personally, I would love to sit down and chew over the peace plan with you. But my schedule is an absolute bear. I mean, I've got a profile slash interview thing to sit for—it'll be in either the Times or the Sunday magazine, we're still going back and forth on that. Then Walter Isaacson's got some nutty idea about 'Man of the Year' stuff, silly, I know, but there it is. Then I've got my book to do—"

"You've got a book, too?" I asked. I'm always interested in talking to other authors.

"A couple, actually. I'm almost done with my memoirs, The Peacemaker Finds His Stillness, then I've got a kind of monograph coming out next year, America in 2000: The Holbrooke Envisioning—so as you can see, if I could squeeze you in I'd do it but I just can't."

"Well," I said, "if you can't, you can't."

"How about a quick nutshell? It'll have to do because I've got Gail Sheehy here and I'm in the middle of explaining to her why she's nuts to think that I should be Secretary of State—though let's be honest, Chris is looking tired and old and rode-hard-and-put-away-wet, and he's seventy years old, and do we need new blood at State? Darn right we do!—but it's not like I have the time, you know?"

"It doesn't sound like it."

"But could my arm be twisted? Could I be persuaded? I can answer that in the affirmative."

"Ummm . . ." I mumbled. I was beginning to get confused.

"Okay. Bosnia in a nutshell. Got a pencil?"

I grabbed a pencil and a sheet of paper.

"Okay. The situation before Dayton: the Serbs, Milosevic of the Serbian Republic, and Karadzic and Mladic of the Bosnian Serbs—"

"You just lost me," I said.

"Let me put it very, very simply: We were in Dayton for three weeks. The first two and half, we mostly bickered, while the various delegations gorged on Domino's and freaked out over the high-quality toilet paper we've got in America. Then, in the final days, we brokered a deal."

"Which was?"

"Well, I thought to myself, 'Okay, pretend you're a Serb leader. You've been killing and maiming and raping for 44 months, waging a campaign of massacre and genocide, perpetrating some of the most unspeakable acts of violence and inhumanity since the Third Reich, for what?' And I answered myself, 'For more land, for more territory.'"

"Once you found out that Serb aggression and their various war crimes were designed to increase their territory, what did you do?"

"What do you think we did? We gave it to them! C'mon, Mr. Vice President, meet me halfway here!"

"So the Serbs get away with it? They get what they want? No punishment for their crimes?"

"Hey, I don't know what you call 21 days in a Marriott Suites in Dayton, Ohio, but I sure as heck don't call it nothing!"

This didn't sound so good to me. "But aren't we just, I don't know, appeasing them?"

"Mr. Vice President, this is what they taught me at the Kennedy School. What can I tell you?"

"Well, I guess then it's okay," I said.

"Can I go now?" he asked. "I've got to call the Times and the Post and issue a strongly worded statement in support of Warren Christopher, denying that I have any interest at all in the office of Secretary of State."

"I do have one quick question. What about Haiti? The word is President Aristide wants another term in office."

"Let him have it. You want a second term. So does he."

"Good point," I said. It was, too.

"And bear in mind, Mr. Vice President," he said, "that if you're successful in 1996, Warren Christopher will be almost eighty years old. And the world, Mr. Vice President, the world is young. And now I really have to go."

And he hung up. He's an amazing guy, Rusty. I can't wait 'til he turns his attention to China!

Your pal, Al

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Karl Popper, Critical Rationalist

DAVID GLASNER

"IT'S NOT what people don't know that gets them into trouble," an American humorist once said, "it's what people know that ain't so."

Perhaps the most difficult problem in the history of philosophy has been: How do we know that what we know is so? Sir Karl Popper's startling solution to that problem (we don't) made him, at the time of his death last year at 92, the most influential recent philosopher in the world—perhaps the most influential since Kant. His work was mainly in two cognate branches of philosophy: epistemology (the theory of knowledge) and the philosophy of science. Despite its theoretical character, Popper's work profoundly affected how we think not only about science and philosophy, but also about politics, art, and religion. Indeed, so powerful has been his influence (except among professional philosophers) that most of us don't even realize how much our thinking owes to him. No assessment of Popper's ideas can begin other than with his early, purely philosophical work. However, it was his landmark books *The Poverty of Historicism* and *The Open Society and Its Enemies* that brought his ideas to wider public attention. This year's fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *The Open Society and Its Enemies* provides the ideal occasion for an assessment of those ideas.

In the traditional view, knowledge was sharply distinguished from belief. Individuals might hold opinions with varying degrees of belief. They might even hold some opinions with absolute (subjective) certainty. But unless their truth could be rationally justified or proved, those opinions, regardless of the (subjective) certainty with which they were held, constituted not *knowledge*, just *belief*. At least since the Renaissance, it came increasingly to be accepted that scientific knowledge was unique in being rationally justified and validated. And especially after the astonishing success of Newton's theory of gravity, not only in explaining the observed movements of the heavenly bodies but in leading to the discovery of the previously unknown planet Neptune, science acquired an exalted status—the exemplar of confirmed, positive, and certain knowledge. It became the role of philosophy not to discover truth but to judge which scientific beliefs could be rationally justified.

Ultimately only two methods of rational justification seemed tenable: 1) logic (deduction), and 2) observation and experience (induction). But even these two methods were found to be severely limited. Deductive reasoning, by itself, can provide us no knowledge of the real world. All it can provide us are tautologies—the implications of a given set of definitions and premises, for example those of Euclidean geometry. But there is no way to determine *a priori* whether the implications of any set of definitions and premises correspond to the complexity of observable reality.

The principle of induction seemed more promising. According to this principle, researchers could, by repeated observation, establish (confirm) a universal law (e.g., the sun rises in the east every morning). But by the middle of the eighteenth century David Hume had shown that induction is logically inadequate to its task. No number of observations, Hume pointed out, can confirm a universal law, for no number of observations can exclude the possibility that a contrary future observation may invalidate it.

After Hume, philosophy was faced with a glaring contradiction between the incapacity of induction to justify the knowledge claims of science and the indisputable success of science in explaining an ever-expanding range of observable phenomena. Kant tried to resolve the problem by arguing that scientists do not discover universal laws embedded in observable reality, but create them *a priori* and then impose them, as it were, on reality. But the Kantian view of science collapsed early in this century when the Michelson–Morely experiment supported Einstein's theory of relativity and disproved Newton's theory, showing *a priori* claims of validity to be as insecure as inductive claims.

Frederick H. Carlson

The philosophical need to reconcile the unique epistemological position of science with Hume's disproof of induction and with Kant's failure to circumvent Hume's disproof led to the rise in the early twentieth century of logical positivism. Positivists distinguished between two kinds of factual statements: scientific statements, which at least in principle could be confirmed by some observation, and metaphysical statements which could not be confirmed, even in principle, by any observation. The difference between scientific statements and metaphysical statements, the positivists argued, is not that scientific statements are true and metaphysical statements are not, but that scientific statements have meaning and metaphysical statements have none.

Mr. Glasner is an economist in Washington, D.C.

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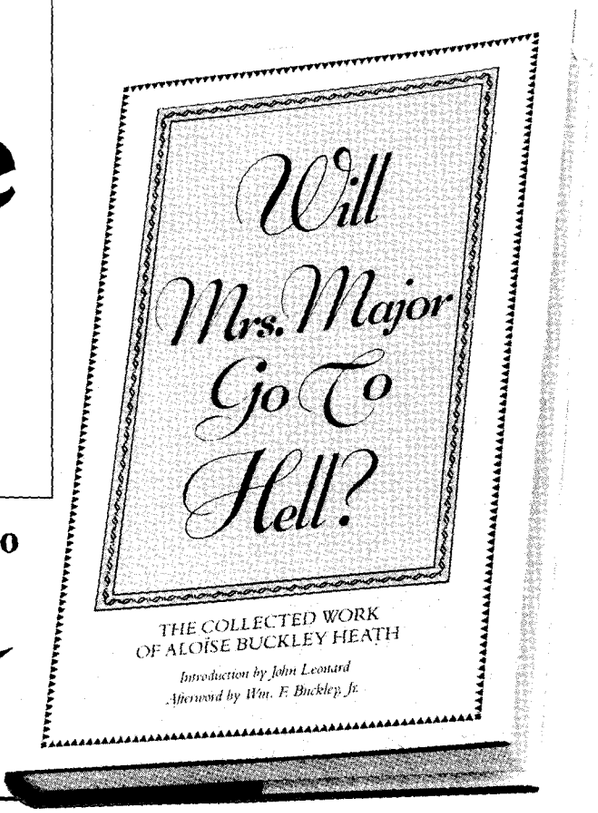
Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell?
THE COLLECTED WORK OF ALOÏSE BUCKLEY HEATH
Introduction by John Leonard
Afterword by Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Aloïse Buckley Heath's **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** – yours directly from *National Review*.

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Here is what the "Book-of-the-Month Club News" said about **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** when it was first published:

> "It may be the warmest, funniest book about suburban family life since *Please Don't Eat the Daisies*, and it suggests that a true talent was lost when Mrs. Heath died at the untimely age of 48. She was one of ten children and had ten of her own, which helps explain why she was busy. The picture she gives of the way her family lived is both touching and hilarious, and she also casts a wry glance at the social scene in such pieces as one entitled 'Ladies Month in the Slicks,' wherein she notes, regarding the suggestion that harried housewives be given a paid-up charm course for Christmas. 'This gift had better be limited to harried housewives you know very well indeed.'"

...and we honestly can't remember when we've seen a more tender, poignant collection of stories. The late Aloïse Buckley Heath (William F. Buckley Jr.'s sister) wrote some absolutely priceless things about her own family, and the early days of *National Review*, plus some marvelously funny satirical observations on our contemporary habits and institutions.

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Don't miss her wonderfully entertaining views on soap operas or her recollections as an inadvertent fund-raiser (successful and highly unorthodox) for Smith College. Her Christmas stories are authentic classics, especially the Heaths' version of a Trapp Family Christmas.

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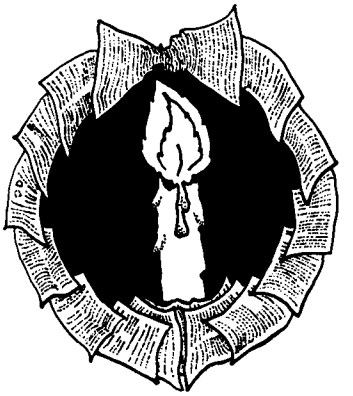
Here is where Karl Popper enters the story, for in *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* he rejected the positivist criterion of demarcation between meaningful (scientific, verifiable) statements and meaningless (metaphysical, unverifiable) statements. His critique was twofold. First, he denied that potential for verification is what distinguishes science from non-science. On the contrary, Hume had shown that, as a matter of logic, a universal law of science could never be verified. The positivists' own criterion thus rendered all universal laws of science meaningless. Popper turned the positivist doctrine on its head by arguing that what characterizes a universal law of science is that it forbids certain events. Should those events occur nonetheless, the law is refuted.



It is noteworthy that Popper's conception of science stemmed largely from his early interest in psychology and socialism in post–World War I Vienna, whose intellectual and political life was dominated by the Freudians and the Marxists. Both groups claimed a scientific understanding of individual human conduct and of society. And both insisted that their doctrines were confirmed by observations derived from clinical experience, from the annals of history, or from common everyday experience. But Popper found that both groups had, in fact, insulated their theories from empirical criticism. The Freudians boasted that psychoanalysis explained any conceivable behavior, so that all clinical experience constituted evidence in its favor. Popper's response was that if no conceivable observation could contradict psychoanalysis, the proper inference is not that psychoanalysis is confirmed, but that its empirical (and, hence, scientific) content is nil.

Marxists avoided criticism in a different way. Acknowledging that Marx's predictions had been contradicted by events, the Marxists nevertheless dogmatically defended their theory by advancing special ad hoc arguments to explain away those contradictions. Popper concluded that Freudians and Marxists both regarded their theories not as scientific hypotheses susceptible of criticism and possible refutation, but as dogmas immune to criticism.

After Popper advanced his claim that the characteristic of scientific theories is their vulnerability to refutation by observable events, some logical positivists proposed reformulating their criterion of meaning in terms of the refutability of statements rather than in terms of their verifiability.

But Popper's second criticism of positivism blocked that line of retreat, for he expressly denied that statements are meaningful only if they could be refuted by some observation. Popper remarked that the positivists' own criterion of meaning could be neither verified nor refuted by any observation and therefore, under their criterion, had no meaning. Indeed, how would one determine whether a statement could be verified or refuted without first comprehending its meaning? The criterion of refutability therefore could not distinguish between meaningful and meaningless statements, only between scientific and non-scientific (or metaphysical) statements. And trying to account for the specialness of science by declaring non-scientific statements to be meaningless, Popper realized, would inevitably lead to a futile preoccupation with definitions and semantic issues.

Popper's critique of logical positivism not only rescued philosophy from the positivists' self-destructive preoccupation with meaning, it revolutionized our view of science. Accepting Hume's critique of induction, Popper readily acknowledged that there is no method (scientific or otherwise) of justifying our theories about the real world. What sets science apart from other forms of intellectual inquiry is that science subjects its theories (i.e., its tentative claims to truth) to observational tests that could disprove them. When competing theories have contradictory implications about the world, scientists prefer that theory which is most consistent with observable reality. Because it aims at theories whose implications correspond with observational reality, science progressively weeds out inferior theories. And even though we can never be certain that the theories we now maintain are true, they are closer to the truth than past theories were.

Before Popper, rationalists had dismissed unjustified beliefs as nothing more than superstition. Popper, however, argued that it is criticism, not justification, that is the hallmark of rationality. Reason, for Popper, is a critical faculty, and the characteristic of all rational discourse is the exercise of that faculty. And while metaphysical theories, unlike scientific ones, cannot be empirically tested, they can still be discussed critically.

IF SUSCEPTIBILITY to criticism is the characteristic of rationality, then arguments based on meaning, or arguments by definition, are inherently suspect. At best futile, such arguments degenerate, at worst, into a tactic for avoiding criticism. How we define a word describing a real object or phenomenon is a matter of convenience. Reality can't be altered by how we choose to define words, and definitions can't be right or wrong—only more or less useful in the light of a particular problem we are addressing.

Thanks largely to Popper, the once pervasive belief that definitions really matter has ebbed considerably. Popper's distinction between substantive arguments and semantic ones is now widely understood and accepted. Indeed, exposing an argument as being merely semantic now often suffices to put it to rest. But that is not to say that the old view about definitions does not often still hold sway. A famous example of such misplaced emphasis on definitions was the reaction to the remark made by Justice Potter Stewart in his concurring opinion to the Supreme Court's decision in *Jebollis* v. *Ohio* (1964). Justice Stewart wrote that while he could not define hard-core pornography, "I know it when I see it and the motion picture under review in this case is not that." Ever since, that frank statement has been derided by law professors and other sophisticates (usually those objecting to any restriction on obscenity) as an example of muddleheadedness.

Notice how, by suggesting that unless obscenity can be defined it doesn't exist, a response focusing on the lack of a definition for obscenity arbitrarily stifles discussion about the real issues posed by legal restrictions on obscenity. The problem is not how to define obscenity, but whether the state has a legitimate interest in banning obscene materials or restricting their distribution. Considerations might include the possible harmful effects of such materials on viewers, on those involved in their creation or distribution, or on the community at large. Alternatively, there might be moral grounds that would give the state an interest in disallowing the creation and distribution of obscene materials. Having surveyed the possible rea-

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sons for banning or restricting obscenity, one could then consider whether individuals have legal rights to read and view what they choose that could take precedence over the possible social harms or moral offenses perpetrated by the creators and distributors of obscene materials. Instead of engaging in a critical discussion of the issues, those deriding Justice Stewart sought to solve the problem by defining it out of existence.

APPLYING his conception of the growth of knowledge through criticism, Popper achieved two fundamental insights in political philosophy. The first, which he worked out shortly after completing his basic work on the philosophy of science in the early 1930s, was his discovery that all alleged historical laws of development, from Hegel and Marx to Spengler and Toynbee, suffer from an inherent logical fallacy. The fallacy becomes unmistakable as soon as an obvious fact is recognized: that the future condition of society, which theories of historical development claim to predict, depends on the future state of scientific knowledge. Thus, any law governing the future state of society entails a corresponding law governing the future state of knowledge. But if the future state of knowledge is determined by a known law, then it must already be known, which is self-contradictory. If future knowledge were already known, it would be not future, but present, knowledge. And if future knowledge must, as a matter of simple logic, be unpredictable, so must the future state of society. All purported laws of historical development are thus logically untenable.

Popper developed this idea in his book *The Poverty of Historicism*, which grew out of a lecture that he gave in 1936 to F. A. Hayek's seminar at the London School of Economics. Within a year, Popper, anticipating Hitler's imminent takeover of Austria, left for New Zealand to take his first academic post, at Canterbury University College. Resolved to publish his work showing the common historicist tendencies of Communism and fascism, Popper found himself, in developing his logical refutation of historicism, tracing the roots of historicist and totalitarian ideas all the way back to Plato. Realizing that an adequate historical treatment of the development of these ideas from Plato to Hegel and Marx would require a separate and much longer work, he simultaneously began writing his best-known book, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*.

The Open Society and Its Enemies addresses the age-old conflict between those who believe that they are possessed of a truth or of knowledge that is beyond criticism and discussion —and who therefore seek to impose their conception of the truth and their will on the rest of society—and those who believe that the way to arrive at truth is through open debate and discussion. The latter believe in an open society in which no individual or group claiming a monopoly over truth can enforce its beliefs on others, while the former are the enemies of the open society.

Working under the burden of a desperately heavy teaching load and the active hostility of his university administration to his research and writing, Popper nevertheless persevered. Even after finishing his two books, he faced further discouragement. In 1943, the philosophical journal *Mind* rejected the manuscript of *The Poverty of Historicism* for publication, and the early readers of the manuscript of *The Open Society and Its*

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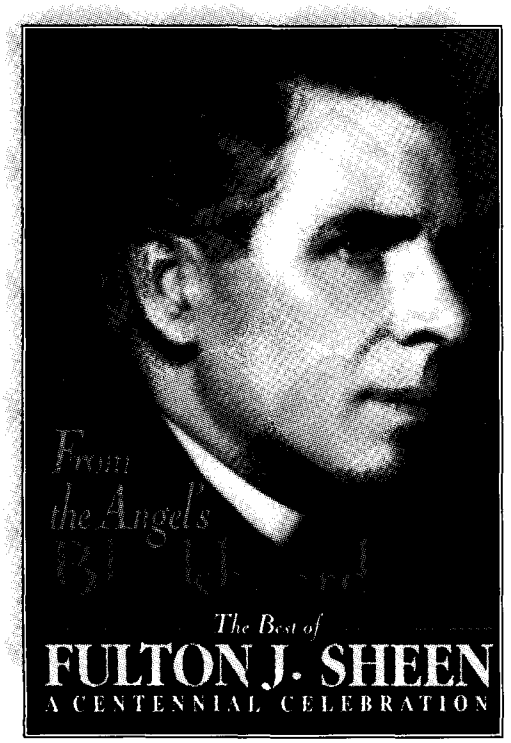

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Enemies were distinctly unenthusiastic, in part because of its attack on Plato and in part because of its attack on Marxism. In desperation Popper sent the manuscripts to his Viennese friend Ernst Gombrich, the art historian. Gombrich, now in London, had attended Popper's 1936 lecture in Hayek's seminar, and he enlisted Hayek's help in securing publication for the manuscripts. Hayek himself accepted *The Poverty of Historicism* for publication in the journal *Economica*, of which he was the editor, and he found a publisher for *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. A year later, Hayek arranged for Popper to be offered a post at the London School of Economics.

Both born in Vienna around the turn of the century, raised in the educated Viennese upper middle class, drawn to left-wing politics and the study of psychology as undergraduates at the University of Vienna after World War I, Popper and Hayek, who had never met then, thus became close friends in middle age. They found they had arrived at virtually the same conclusions about rationality, scientific method, freedom, and political philosophy.

Both Popper and Hayek argued that all totalitarian systems were irrational in a very basic sense. Hayek emphasized the inability of a central authority to obtain the information needed to allocate rationally the resources it commanded. Popper's point was that by decreeing its own omniscience and suppressing all criticism of the official creed and of official decisions, the ruling elite would be suppressing the very activity, critical discussion, that is essential for knowledge to grow. These two aspects of the irrationality of totalitarianism virtually dovetail into one. The inability of a ruling elite to allocate resources rationally must cause obvious errors that evoke criticism as a matter of course. Such criticism, if accepted, might improve conditions. Instead, the ruling elite suppresses criticism, which makes learning, and any improvement in conditions, impossible.

Popper's clear-eyed recognition of the horror of totalitarianism of whatever stripe earned him the reputation of a conservative despite the socialist and even Marxist leanings of his youth. Those leanings were still detectable in *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, in which, notwithstanding his attack on Marxism and his opposition to any system of comprehensive state control over the economy, he advocated "piecemeal social engineering," commenting favorably on the Swedish Social Democracy and the American New Deal. But gradually, presumably under Hayek's influence, Popper softened his attitude toward laissez-faire capitalism and narrowed his interpretation of the sort of state action that might legitimately be undertaken in the name of piecemeal social engineering.

EVEN SO, in his hostility to all forms of nationalism, his embrace of the values of critical rationalism and science, his rejection of authority, Popper never became a conservative in the mold of, say, Russell Kirk. Nevertheless, there were few more sensitive than Popper himself to the limits of reason. Reason operates primarily negatively, by criticism and refutation. And just as reason can offer no certainty in science, it offers none in morality, justice, or politics. Popper rejected, in particular, the notion that reason can identify basic incontestable principles—principles either of nature or of morality from which valid scientific or moral conclusions may be safely derived.

All scientific and moral theories are in the nature of conjectures that can be criticized. Scientific theories are subject to criticism based on correspondence with observable facts. In morals no comparable empirical method is available, so any improvement in our moral understanding that may have occurred has been of a far more tenuous nature than that of the growth of our scientific knowledge. The naïve rationalist hope of deducing all moral values from self-evident basic principles is illusory. Our moral values are, in the end, derived from a tradition that can never be justified in purely rational terms. The role of reason is to help us understand our moral tradition and perhaps, in the process, to improve it, not to replace it with a new moral system derived from self-evident principles. This fundamentally conservative implication of Popper's epistemology may turn out to be no less important for the philosophy of morals than it has been for the philosophy of science. Should it turn out to be so, most conservatives—and, for that matter, most liberals—would have yet another reason to be thankful for the life and work of Karl Popper. □

Good-Bye to All That

RALPH McINERNY

THINGS were supposed to get better once we rid ourselves of prince and priest, but clearly that has not happened. Half a century ago Jean-Paul Sartre chided his fellow atheists for thinking that everything else would remain the same once God was removed from the picture. If there is no God, what restraints can there be on our freedom? None. Vertiginous, Dostoyevskian thoughts occur. Was it Rousseau who wanted his servants to believe in God lest they walk off with the silver? There is a strong whiff of that sentiment in these two books.

Andrew Delbanco tells of the death of Satan and Richard Elliott Friedman of the disappearance of God. Both authors write with a half-regretful tone, but each explicitly disavows any personal stake in the issue. Delbanco numbers himself among the secular humanists, and Friedman is particularly skittish about declaring outright belief or disbelief in the subject of his study. Their effort—and it is visibly an effort—to adopt the stance of a more or less disinterested spectator perhaps says more, and more eloquently, about the issues they address than their own erudite and fascinating narratives.

The Death of Satan: How Americans Have Lost the Sense of Evil, by Andrew Delbanco (Farrar, Straus, 274 pp., $23)

The Disappearance of God, A Divine Mystery, by Richard Elliott Friedman (Little, Brown, 335 pp., $24.95)

Delbanco connects the loss of the

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sense of evil with the death of Satan, and he tracks the story through American history, relying principally on literature. Friedman treats what he calls three mysteries, the first grounded in his professional work as a biblical scholar, the second in a comparison of Dostoyevsky and Nietzsche, the third in a comparison of the Kabbalah and Big Bang cosmology.

Friedman first. The subtitle of his book is *A Divine Mystery*, but it is one he tells by analyzing three mysteries. The first has to do with the altering presence of God in the Old Testament. In Genesis, God walks with Adam and Eve in the Garden, but after they have sinned they hide when they hear his voice. Expelled from Eden, they no longer walk in the presence of God. Friedman discusses later angelic appearances, as in Jacob's wrestling with the angel, and suggests that angels are really theophanies. The burning bush, the pillar and the cloud—God is mediated. But here is Mr. Friedman's list of episodes conveying the progressive disappearance of God:

1) Moses sees God at Sinai. 2) Moses, the one man who has seen God, wears a veil. 3) God tells Moses, "I shall hide my face from them." 4) The last time God is said to be revealed to a human is to Samuel. 5) Solomon is the last human to whom God appears. 6) There are the miracles for Elijah on Mount Carmel. 7) The last personal miracle is when the shadow reverses before Isaiah and Hezekiah. 8) God is not mentioned in Esther.

The argument would seem to be that as mankind recede from Eden, God is progressively less among them. At this point Friedman attacks his own apparent theory. *These stories were not originally written in the order in which they now appear in the Bible.* The order of writing is said to be 1, 4, 7, 2, 6, 3, 5, 8. Moreover, the books in which these passages occur were written long after the events described. Is the disappearance of God the design of a later author? No. There is no single author of the relevant books, and the many authors were separated from one another by centuries. The mystery is: Why do the books of the Bible convey the gradual disappearance of God if a) the books were not written in the order in which they appear in the Bible and b) it could not have been a conscious decision of the various authors? Friedman's fundamentalist students will wink and say that God is the primary author of the Bible, but Friedman is a modern scholar (he's a professor at UC San Diego), and so that route is closed to him: "The explanation of this phenomenon rather lies in a combination of factors: religious, historical, psychological, and literary."

The Israelite religion, "by moving the essence of divinity from the realm of nature to the realm of history," made it possible for God to disappear. Friedman sets aside the Bible's cosmological claims—in the beginning God created Heaven and earth; Yahweh means "He causes to be"—and sees the historical process as a trek away from God rather than toward the Promised Land and the Messiah. Here is Friedman's *petitio*: "Whenever a biblical author lived, no matter how long after the events he or she was narrating, his or her perception would be that God's visible acts had diminished. That is, the placement of God in history, inevitably, meant departure." Possibility entails necessity. Bad logic is followed by arguments relying on pop psychology: "The closer the period of the author's story came to the author's own time, the less the author would/

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could picture divine intervention in his or her world"; there is "the equally common human notion of conflict with the divine." Thanks to what Friedman calls an "amazing combination of factors" the Bible thus tells the story of the disappearance of God from human affairs as man comes of age.

I am no biblical scholar, nor is this idle boasting, but if I were I suspect I would want to ground my argument in what I took to be the actual historical sequence of the events discussed. But then I am only a wink or two away from Friedman's "fundamentalists" and would probably want to see the alleged process as sinful man's attempted flight from the just judgment of God. After all, it is Adam and Eve who do the hiding, not God.

Friedman's second mystery is indeed mysterious. What he wants to understand is Nietzsche's going mad in Turin when he attempts to protect a horse who is being beaten. Friedman takes us on an impressionist tour of Nietzsche's acquaintance with the works of Dostoyevsky, the occurrence of horse beating in those works, the symbolism of horses, Lou Salome with a whip of sorts in her hand as she is photographed in a cart that Nietzsche and a friend pretend to pull—all this turning around the death of God as a common theme of the two writers. Call it a tour de force. This reader is struck by the sameness of Friedman's treatment of Nietzschean, Dostoyevskian, and biblical texts. Mad Nietzsche is praised as no biblical author is. Friedman's unpacking of "the puzzle of Nietzsche's insanity" is of a piece with what passes for interpretation and argument in the first part of the book. C. S. Lewis said that nothing biblical scholars did could surprise him after what he had seen happen in the realm of literary criticism. Friedman is going for a medal in both sports.

A triathlon, actually. In the last part of his book, Friedman gingerly compares the cosmology of Kabbalistic texts with Big Bang cosmology. What is the point? They are about as connected as Dostoyevsky and Nietzsche's madness and the "amazing combination of factors" that explain God's alleged disappearance from the Bible. (Friedman's treatment of Jesus as God Incarnate is understandably brief.) But it is the Big Bang that intrigues Friedman. "There is some likelihood," he concludes, "that the universe is the hidden face of God."

DELBANCO'S purpose is "to think historically about the shrinking range of phenomena to which accusatory words like 'evil' and 'sin' may still be applied in contemporary life, and to think about what it means to do without them." The problem is that no one really believes in a "malign principle" any more. Delbanco traces the disappearance of this belief from American literature.

In his chapter on the "Age of Belief," Delbanco gives a sketch of the pre-American belief in the Devil, and then recounts how the Old Enemy came to the New World. Our author may lament the disappearance of the devil, but he is a severe critic of those for whom Satan was a real person. Following the narrative through Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards and on into reflections on Melville, the reader does not encounter any nostalgia for what is recounted. Nor are the treatments of Howells and Crane laments for a lost outlook. When Delbanco arrives at the present, the "Culture of Irony," he tells us that his account has been parallel to Richard Rorty's, the difference being that the tale has been told by way of imaginative literature. But the point reached is that "we" have lost a criterion of wrongness; "we" recognize no antecedent limitations to our exercise of freedom; "we" are all nihilists now.

Delbanco has told the story of "the advance of secular rationality in the United States." He himself is a secular rationalist and he is clearly appalled by the contemporary situation. But there is no going back. (Delbanco shares with Friedman a sense of historical inevitability, almost fatalistic.) He tells us that the link between sin and sexuality (he means random coupling) can never be restored. It is wrong to try "to get back the sense of evil in ways which have been superseded by history." Delbanco wants to renew, not restore, the sense of evil. How? "There is reason to hope for a cooperative intellectual venture between religion and science that may lead to a revival of serious moral thinking." Delbanco pins his hope on evolutionary psychology. Where the religion to cooperate with such science is to come from in Delbanco's Rortyesque landscape, it is difficult to see. He says we want Satan back because God depends on him, and he acknowledges that the essence of religious faith is the idea of transcendence. As a self-described secular liberal, Delbanco can only be a spectator of the development he longs for.

It is this dissociation of author from his ostensible theme that characterizes both Delbanco and Friedman. One imagines someone like themselves a generation or two from now reflecting on their wistful expectations from evolutionary psychology and Big Bang cosmology. Will the sadness lie in the fact that our authors did not live to see how it all came out, or in the fact that they chose to treat the essential human task as a spectator sport? □

Grace under Pressure

AVERY DULLES, SJ

THIS book falls into two parts, the first dealing with seventeenth-century Jansenism, the second with Blaise Pascal. The two parts are connected inasmuch as Pascal was a Jansenist, but Kolakowski's treatment of Pascal deals mainly with the *Pensées*, a work that he finds free of Jansenist theology except in a few details. He regards it as an apology for the Christian religion, not an apology for Jansenius's theology.

The book can be recommended up to a point for two reasons. First, it gives a detailed exegesis of the five condemned propositions of Jansenius and a readable account of his followers in France, notably the Abbé de Saint-Cyran, Antoine Arnauld, and Pierre Nicole. Kolakowski makes the history come alive because he sees how, in the view of the Jansenists, the Jesuits were sanctioning a disastrous

God Owes Us Nothing: A Brief Remark on Pascal's Religion and on the Spirit of Jansenism, by Leszek Kolakowski (Chicago, 238 pp., $22.50)

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attenuation of Christian faith and morals. Kolakowski is not personally attracted to Jansenism, with its utter pessimism about human nature, but as an empathetic historian he enables the reader to look at reality through Jansenist eyes.

The second merit of this book is in its analysis of the apologetics of Pascal. Drawing on his broad knowledge of the corpus of Pascal's writing, Kolakowski is able to shed valuable light on the true meaning of Pascal's famous "wager" and to illuminate some of the more puzzling and paradoxical aphorisms in the *Pensées*. For this reader Kolakowski clarifies Pascal's empirical–mathematical concept of reason, contrasting it with the metaphysical concept of reason found in Scholastic theologians such as Thomas Aquinas. Unfortunately the author does not take the occasion to show how far the Jansenists, and Pascal in particular, departed from Augustine's concept of reason and from the view that reason could be healed and elevated by grace. Kolakowski in fact gives the impression that Augustine himself was locked into a kind of Jansenistic pessimism about the human condition.

A controversial point in this book is the contention: "There is no doubt that the entire heretical doctrine of Jansenism is faultlessly derived from Augustine's theology." This assertion, and the corollary that in condemning Jansenism the Church condemned Augustine, run counter to a large body of Augustine scholarship. Even if passages can be found in which Augustine seems to support what Jansenius later taught, he moves in a different intellectual universe in which the key terms take on a different meaning. Augustine's conceptions of nature and reason, grace and freedom, are not the same as those professed in Jansenism.

Under the influence of Jansenist authors, Kolakowski repeatedly states that efficacious grace (*gratia efficax*, which he translates "efficient grace") must be irresistible, in the sense that the recipient lacks the proximate power to refuse it. He maintains that if we were free to resist God's grace, we, rather than God, would determine which graces would be effective.

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From this perspective Kolakowski seriously misunderstands the positions of the seventeenth-century Jesuits, to whom he attributes the view that our salvation depends ultimately on ourselves and not on God. In point of fact these theologians all rejected this semi-Pelagian position. They were convinced that the efficacy of grace is itself God's gift. Without documenting his statements from original sources, Kolakowski attributes to the Molinists the views that we can compel God to save us and that we can obtain salvation without loving God, by merely complying with God's external commandments.

The author's charges against the Jesuits are not restricted to the doctrine of grace. Influenced by French Jansenists, he portrays the Jesuits as supporting a theocratic despotism in which the Pope would hold sway over the entire domain of politics. In point of fact the leading Jesuits promoted popular sovereignty and constitutional government. They were sometimes in trouble for opposing the direct power of the papacy over temporal matters.

Kolakowski's assertions about the Jesuit attitude toward science seem to indicate a fixation on the condemnation of Galileo, which was by no means the work of Jesuits alone. He gives no indications regarding Galileo's close relationships with Clavius and the mathematicians of the Roman College, who displayed a keen interest in astronomy.

The critique in this book is not limited to Molinists or Jesuits. Having set up a strict dichotomy between Jansenism and semi-Pelagianism, the author finds himself driven to hold that the Catholic Church, in rejecting the former, embraced the latter heresy. Noting that the recent *Catechism of the Catholic Church* rejects all five of the condemned propositions of Jansenius, he characterizes the book as semi-Pelagian.

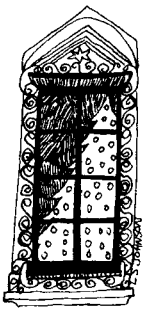
Kolakowski's failure to distinguish between Catholic orthodoxy and semi-Pelagianism stems, in my judgment, from insufficient familiarity with the theology of actual grace. No one trained in that field would translate "*grâce prochainement suffisante*" as "grace sufficient in the future." It is a pity that a thinker of high philosophical competence, with a keen interest in the history of ideas, should have overextended himself in areas where he is clearly not at home.

The basic problem that I have with the book is the assumption that one cannot simultaneously affirm the full dominion of God in conferring grace and the responsible freedom of the creature in accepting it. If this were the case, the only Christian alternatives would indeed be Jansenism (which sacrifices human freedom) and some form of Pelagianism (which curtails God's dominion). But at one point Mr. Kolakowski himself indicates a wiser course. He acknowledges that it is intellectually more fruitful to accept the mystery, affirming both providence and free will, even though we cannot combine both in a consistent theory. That is exactly what the Catholic Church has done in refusing either to endorse or to condemn any of the several theories (including those of the Molinists) that respect both the full sovereignty of God and the freedom of human beings under grace. None of the orthodox theories successfully explains how human freedom can be reconciled with God's full dominion, but neither do they claim to dispel the mystery. □

Too Little, Too Late

MAYER SCHILLER

ONE OF the distinguishing characteristics of American conservatism after World War II was its apocalyptic rhetoric. It summoned the citizenry to a struggle which if not joined would result in the triumph of Communism and the end of Western civilization. But as the Right began to enter the political mainstream, it was deemed impolite to portray our times as the "suicidal" West's eleventh hour. Indeed, the victories of Nixon and later Reagan were taken as indications that the cause espoused by the 1950s NATIONAL REVIEW had triumphed.



Meanwhile the past three decades have witnessed the increasing eclipse of our civilization and its standards on every front. All mainstream churches are now in the hands of the Left. The main building blocks of society—schools, courts, media, the military, family—embrace the latest trendy lunacy. All the dogmas of the late Sixties, ranging from slovenly dress and manners to an amoral sexual ethic, dominate the way people are educated and live. Pockets of counterrevolution as they approach respectability must accept the givens of the system in order to be granted a public voice—witness the consistent dulling of the Christian Coalition's message.

Values Matter Most, by Ben Wattenberg (Free Press, 426 pp., $25)

Integrity, by Stephen L. Carter (Basic, 261 pp., $22)

The collapse of authority and the self-confidence necessary to wield it has left many people ill at ease. Lately on all sides faint stirrings are heard about a need to "restore values" to the nation. Politicians and theoreticians of all philosophical hues have joined the chorus. This demand presents a particular problem for those who no longer believe in the religions of Western man and have no love for the inherited wisdom of his culture. How are values to be derived and defined? The difficulty is highlighted in two new works by those traveling under the neoconservative or moderate-liberal banner.

The fact that Bill Clinton was deeply touched by Ben Wattenberg's *Values Matter Most* is perhaps sufficient grounds to dismiss it. It is a work safely moderate and "with it," chock full of opinion polls and discussions of elections and candidates. The essential message seems to be that Left and Right should lower the volume of their public rhetoric and adopt vaguely conservative-sounding stances on "social issues" (i.e., "crime, welfare, education, and preference"). We are cautioned, however, to steer clear of "cultural issues" (i.e., "abortion, pornography, prayer in school, gun control, homosexuality and homophobia [*sic*]"). By limiting his discussion to the "issues" (as defined, of course, by the Left) Mr. Wattenberg shows an unwillingness to probe the deeper causes of our decline. He pro-

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poses merely that we "reinstate punishment for crime, restore disincentives in welfare, re-establish rigor in the schools through serious standards, [and] go back to the earlier form of affirmative action" (whatever that might be). Missing here is any attempt to understand why these things are not done. Why does a people lose the will to maintain order through punishment, to say no to free-loaders, or to make educational and behavioral demands on its children? The uncomfortable answer is that those who govern and educate us no longer possess a religious or other belief system that gives them the strength needed to struggle against decadence and maintain order.

But to suggest that a clear faith or civilizational identity is necessary in order to return us, at the very least, to the relative utopia of the 1950s might lead to a discussion of those annoying cultural issues that Mr. Wattenberg fears. It might call into question the cardinal dogma of those who advocate values-in-a-cultural-vacuum and see America's greatness in its being the world's "first universal nation," where religion, culture, and race must be spoken about softly, if at all.

The inability of neo-conservatives and moderate liberals to advocate public policies that would significantly break with those of past decades is rooted in their desire to embrace the root philosophical dogmas of liberalism (pluralism, democracy, universal human rights, egalitarianism, etc.) while bemoaning the effects of those doctrines in history.

Stephen Carter (also much beloved by the Clintonistas) is another advocate of faceless "values" cut loose from an authority structure or particular cultural context capable of defending them. His *The Culture of Disbelief* (which called upon liberals imbued by "faith" to withstand the "sinister" efforts of the Christian Right in the name of "liberty" and "diversity") has now been followed by *Integrity*. The book issues a vague call for personal integrity in schools, business, government, and private life and is filled with ominous warnings against actually enforcing any standards of behavior or, more significantly, educating (without diversity and pluralism) the young for them.

Quite frankly, does anyone seriously believe that an America educated in the religionless, valueless, cultureless public schools, imbibing the popular media of television, movies, and music with no alternative institutional models of sanity available, can be pleasantly persuaded by intellectuals to abandon its present course? Further, is there any evidence that the authority structures of society —ranging from parents to police—their confidence sapped by decades of liberal-imposed self-doubt, will magically reassert themselves because a Wattenberg or Carter calls for our return to the bourgeois morality of the Fifties?

One cannot undo the effects of liberalism while still pledged to its world view. For years I have wrestled with the question of why the Fifties' schools and media produced a generation that embraced the Sixties' revolution. Why didn't Dick and Jane, the Cleavers and Nelsons, and a cartload of John Wayne movies preserve the world of those nurtured by them? One is reminded of the description Flannery O'Connor gave her mother of New York literati: "They're nice folks, Mama, but they ain't from nowhere." Truth be told, the "values" of the Fifties weren't from anywhere. The families and heroes rarely, if ever, went to church. Their suburban homes were in no clear way part of a European cultural continuum. Authority figures, fathers in particular, were no longer respected in the traditional sense. Institutional as opposed to individual heroism was rarely glorified. Fiftiesism—which is a somewhat stronger version of the neo-conservative/moderate-liberal soft assent to "values"—was doomed to fail.

As individuals, the "values" advocates are doubtless the better for having discovered (however tentatively) the absoluteness of morality and a hint of transcendence. However, for a restoration of the social order (if it is still possible at this late date) we must await the arrival of those with a clearer, more rooted vision and a willingness to play for keeps. □

PAGANISM REVISITED, PART I

Halloween Forever

RICHARD BROOKHISER

I HAVE been to India twice. The second time, this summer, I went to the temple of Meenakshi in Madurai. Madurai is one of the "temple towns" of the south—places that coalesced around a few popular holy sites. At 1.1 million people it is a big town, but the temple is a big temple.

It has the plan of many Indian temples: a square, walled enclosure, with four gates; a courtyard; then the temple itself, with a reinforced pool, or tank, somewhere in the midst. Over each gate stands a huge tower, closed to the public since a woman threw herself off one a few years ago. Every foot of each tower is covered with sculptures, all painted. And not centuries ago, for they are as bright as billboards.

But what is this, in the courtyard? A statue of a Nandi, or bull, the mount of Shiva, Meenakshi's husband. It kneels, gazing at a lingam, a pillar which represents an erect penis. A highly stylized one—you could show it in a movie without getting an NC-17 rating, or even an R. But that is what it is nonetheless. Inside, there is another Nandi. A young mother with a baby touches its nose, then touches her head and her baby's head.

But what is this? A row of stalls in a dark hall (the inside of the temple is low-ceilinged and rather oppressive). A lot of the stuff looks like ritual items—flowers, candles. But much of it is trinkets—cheap plastic toys, electric clocks. Nearby is a statue of Ganesh, the god of luck, a jovial figure with an elephant's head and Jackie Gleason's body. He is Shiva's son, and Dad cut his head off by mistake once, and could only find an elephant's head to repair the mishap. A man is prostrating himself in front of the statue.

But what is this? A pair of dancing statues. The dance they are engaged in became warm—whether from eros or anger, I forget—so worshippers cool them off by throwing balls of butter at them. The statues are stuck all over with little yellow lumps. Nearby, you come out into the open briefly, where there is a real elephant. You hand him a few ru-

Mr. Brookhiser is a senior editor of NR. *His book about George Washington,* Founding Father, *will be published in February.*

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pees, he takes them in his trunk, and touches you on the head. A blessing.

But back inside again, and what is this? A little museum, with dim electric lights. Rows and rows of smallish statues, centuries old, a few of them quite lovely. (Shiva, among other things, is Lord of the Dance, and though he is the Destroyer, his dance destroys ignorance, and hence prepares the way for creation.) Wherever there are bronze protuberances—penises, breasts, noses—they have been rubbed bright from being touched.

The tank (don't ask). Side temples, closed to non-Hindus. A ceiling with painted geometrical designs, probably rather hypnotic, if you could get a good look. I spent an hour in the temple. You could spend ten. You could spend your life. Half a billion Indians do.

I know there is more to Hinduism, beyond and behind its temple surfaces. I have watched performances of episodes of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. I saw bronze statues in Madras, and stone carvings elsewhere in the south, of world-class coherence and beauty. But it is important not to forget the surface.

The first time I saw a Mexican Catholic church with a Virgin Mary with human hair, the WASP in me thought, "Graven image." But I had to concede, after going to India, that it was an image of a person. The idols of Hinduism have human natures and qualities, and they are forces of the universe. But they are also elephants and cows and genitals. If you are going to play with the Second Commandment, it makes a difference how you do it.

There is also the question of order. I have been in Hagia Sophia, and I have been in Quaker meetinghouses, and they're not much alike. But they all have some focal point, toward which everything else, however circuitously, leads. The same is true of mosques and synagogues. In Madurai everything leads everywhere, like the Times Square subway station.

Hinduism on the ground looks a lot like paganism: paganism with a little structural support, and a philosophy if you want it. Anything might be holy. Anything might be dangerous. Anything might be holy and dangerous. Keep on good, or bad, terms with these things as your ancestors did, and don't bother with what your neighbor does.

But the most striking impression a Hindu temple ever made on me was not in Madurai, but in a much smaller temple in Rajasthan, which I visited on my first trip. I hadn't planned to go there; I was taking a car somewhere else, and the driver wanted to stop in for a prayer. There was a similar hubbub, though on a much smaller scale.

What hit me was not the drums, or the incense, or the flower offerings, but a young holy man, with dark hair. What was striking about him was his profile. He looked European. All right, he wasn't a Swede. But he wouldn't have stood out in most European cities, or any American ones. The Aryans, I remembered, went in two directions.

Hindus are our cousins. Their paganism is our paganism. In the West, Greek philosophy taught men to view their pagan beliefs with condescension and amusement. Christianity suppressed or tamed them, giving paganism supporting roles in cathedrals, Christmas trees, trick-or-treats. But in Hinduism, it has had room to stretch out. There it is Halloween all the time, forever. □

PAGANISM REVISITED, PART II

Lessons of the East

JONATHAN FOREMAN

I WAS walking around the lake in the Hindu holy city of Pushkar in Rajasthan when a fat Brahman clutched my shoulder. "Come and be blessed," he urged me. It was a lovely evening and the whitewashed ghats were turning pink. As I hesitated he pulled me down the steps to the water's edge, grabbing a handful of white flowers on the way.

"Five hundred rupees okay?" He took my shocked silence as a bargaining ploy. "Okay, okay, three hundred rupees," and he began to whine a prayer. Every few seconds he threw some flowers into the murky waters of the lake and repeated in English, "Three hundred rupees."

When it was over—it took about a minute—I balked at paying $10 for a dubious blessing I hadn't wanted. I claimed to have only fifty rupees in my wallet. The Brahman offered to send an assistant—who materialized from behind a pillar—back to my hotel with me to collect the balance. But the spirits, or Karma, or the stars were with me. Just as the youth stepped forward to take my arm a family of German tourists appeared at the top of the steps. The Brahman's eyes lit up and his assistant scrambled up to secure richer pickings.

Everyone who goes to India knows that charlatans like the Maharishi and the Bhagwan Rajneesh made fortunes fleecing gullible Western devotees. But we all hope that the holy men we meet will turn out to be the genuine article. We like to think that, unlike credulous Californians ready to sign away their trust funds to the first Sadhu they meet on the beach at Goa, we know real spirituality when we see it. Yet all over India, and especially on the Marijuana Trail that begins in Goa and flows up through Puna to Delhi, Dharmsala, and Manali ("where it grows in the wild!"), you see young foreigners listening rapt to bearded frauds. These are people who would not give a second's audience to a priest at home, let alone buy him dinner in return for an evening's guidance.

Ask them why and you get a look of amazement. Surely you can't ask anyone to take seriously the mumbo-jumbo of something as discredited as *Christianity*. "Look at our society," they say, with its greed and pollution and racism. Well then, I told one nose-ringed beauty in a cheesecloth blouse, why don't *you* look at *this* society? People dying in the street, children sold off as prostitutes in the cages of Bombay, the brutal occupation of Kashmir, sectarian slaughter, a blanket of laziness and despair that means that nothing ever gets maintained or fixed or cleaned, and a total indifference to human suffering that adds an extra dimension to all the greed, pollution, and racism.

She looked pained. That's different. Did I not realize that it is ridiculous to judge a religion by the society it informs? And anyway, it's the Indians' tranquillity amid all the poverty and suf-

Mr. Foreman recently returned from a seven-month trip to India and Pakistan.

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fering that's so beautiful. In other words, the utilitarian criteria go only one way, a habit of thinking that hardened in the 1960s. Ever since then it has been widely accepted that the East is wise, that its superstitions and medicinal magic are gentler and more effective than our own.

As a result, many people who go to India are determined to see only beauty and wisdom. It is a tempting way to travel, soothing the claims of conscience and answering pangs of sympathy with pollyannaish rubbish about "acceptance." It allows people who would otherwise have to painfully thicken their skins and harden their hearts over a period of weeks or months to cut out their empathy at its source. "Oh, it's so lovely. Look at the colors!" I heard an upper-class Englishwoman exclaim in the old city of Jaipur. In the foreground of the street scene which so delighted her, a skinny, bedraggled little girl in bright yellow pajamas, not more than five years old, was picking soggy bits of paper out of the gutter and putting them into a huge plastic bag. Her job. This was an Indian gutter, so a few feet away a hairy black pig was rooting at some cow dung.

Ironically this selective blindness is also the way that many Indians deal with the suffering around them: they choose to see it as picturesque or not at all. But unless you yourself believe in reincarnation, India is a catastrophe, a nightmare of poverty, filth, and cruelty.

The roots of the catastrophe are religious and cultural. Unlike its neighbors, India is a rich country. It grows enough food to feed itself. Yet people still starve. It has the technology to build rockets and atomic bombs; yet it fails to provide sewers and electricity to its capital city. Leprosy, virtually eliminated in the poorest parts of Africa, still claims thousands of victims in a country that exports doctors to the West. India's woes are not developmental or technological; they are failings of the imagination and the heart.

Cross the border to Pakistan and you discover in Lahore a city where the streets are not filled with dung, where legions of the poor are not forced to sleep on pavements and in stations, where trains and buses don't crash with almost comic regularity as they do in India. Pakistani society is often violent, misogynistic, and beset by fierce ethnic and religious divisions, but it lacks the fathomless callousness of its rival. Yet it is to India that the Western pilgrims go, clutching their *Bhagavad Gita* and holding fiercely to the conviction that their own traditions lack "relevance."

In his famous essay "Notes on Nationalism" George Orwell included a section on "transferred nationalism," about the sort of people who despised parades and banners in London but wept at the sight of a red flag or goose-stepping Nazis. Today we see the same phenomenon with the spiritual impulse, with medicine, and with philosophy. The more irrational and bizarre and (above all) foreign the belief, the less critical people become. If a practice or an institution has been sanctified by time over there, "it has a lot to teach us."

Of course, foreigners in India make certain exceptions to the principle of credulity. Western women especially dislike the way a schoolboy sexuality—puritanism and prurience combined—makes the groping of females endemic. They find it difficult to empathize with arranged marriages or (except in the case of committed apologists like Mark Tully) the burning of widows. And when they've been in an accident they usually decline the cow dung believed by many Hindus to have antiseptic properties.

But in general they buy what V. S. Naipaul called "the crooked comedy of India's holy men." They swallow it together with all the ludicrous excuses for deprivation, inefficiency, and brutality that are still peddled by India's political elite. One wonders why half-digested morsels of Oriental religion and philosophy are so enticing even (especially?) amid misery and suffering. Have Western traditions, our sciences and theologies, failed so dismally?

You could cast your mind back fifty years to the liberation of Auschwitz and answer that question in the affirmative. But those who dabble in Indian mysticism are not moved by great questions of good and evil. They are prompted by a malaise that afflicts only those who have the good fortune to live in peace, freedom, and prosperity. Our inherited culture has not failed these people—let alone our society as a whole. If anything, they have failed to understand and explore our inheritance. Having taken for granted or abandoned the faith, ritual, and magic that was their birthright, they seek these things elsewhere, even in the most unlikely and unhappy places. □

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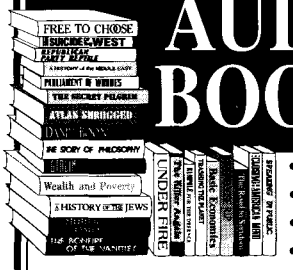
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BOOKS IN BRIEF

Reason in the Balance: The Case against Naturalism in Science, Law, and Education, by Phillip E. Johnson (InterVarsity, 238 pp., $19.99)

THOSE of us committed to living a religious life while participating in the contemporary intellectual world will appreciate Mr. Johnson's new book. The religious aspects of our personality can take a beating in the public square, where faith is often ignored, denigrated, or ridiculed by secularists—or as Mr. Johnson calls them, Naturalists. Explaining in great detail both the philosophical underpinnings of Naturalism and its deep flaws, he convincingly argues that Naturalism is as much a religion as Judaism or Christianity, if by religion we mean a system based on unchallengeable orthodoxies. Indeed Naturalism may be more "fundamentalist" than many sorts of conventionally defined fundamentalism. The conflict between that faith and traditional religion is leading us toward a culture war. Wars begin when rational discourse breaks down and one side resorts to denigrating the other—in this case, as "phobic," "authoritarian," and otherwise dangerous. Only by restoring the search for objective truth, and allowing all viewpoints a fair hearing, can we avoid such a frightening prospect. Despite some shortcomings—Johnson can be long-winded, and he needs to distinguish more carefully between theism and Christianity—*Reason in the Balance* is an important exegesis of the debate between religion and secularism.

—BARRY FREUNDEL

Evangelicals and Catholics Together: Toward a Common Mission, edited by Charles Colson and Richard John Neuhaus (Word, 236 pp., $15.99)

IN 1994, Charles Colson and Fr. Richard John Neuhaus brought together a distinguished group of Catholic and Evangelical leaders. The meeting produced a manifesto, "Evangelicals and Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium," which appears now in book form. While ECT (as the initiative is called) has been sharply criticized in Evangelical circles, Colson and Neuhaus see evidence of a deep and long-term change in relations between Evangelicals and Catholics: in the charismatic renewal movement, and especially among pro-life activists, Catholics and Evangelicals have been working and praying together for a long time. Contributors include Fr. Avery Dulles, who emphasizes that all Christians are "truly but imperfectly" in communion with the Catholic Church, and Fr. Neuhaus, who challenges Evangelicals to remedy their neglect of the importance of "church" and "tradition" in Christian life and faith. Also, Mr. Colson and George Weigel document the cultural, social, and political circumstances that make Evangelical–Catholic collaboration mandatory. Fr. Neuhaus is noted for saying that politics is a function of culture, at the heart of culture is morality, and at the heart of morality is religion. If he is right, *Evangelicals and Catholics Together* will prove to be a political text of great importance.

—JANET MARSDEN

Tears and Saints, by E. M. Cioran, translated by Ilinca Zarifopol-Johnston (Chicago, 120 pp. $18.95)

THIS book about saints has two problems. First, it is written by a Nietzschean: Rumanian intellectual E. M. Cioran, who, like other would be Nietzsches, is always exposing *somebody else's* will-to-power. Second, it is full of those pompous, cryptic, and plain stupid aphorisms about music and literature so typical of Nietzscheophiles. You know, like: "Theologians and philosophers wasted so many days and nights searching for proofs of his [God's] existence, ignoring the only valid one: Bach." Oh, tell me more, E. M., about your knowledge of Bach! In fact, tell me in Latin! It is a shame, because once you get past the priggishness, Cioran's remarks glint with real insight into the paradox of the saint, a person who turns something repulsive to the natural order, suffering, into something desirable. This is sanctity's great yet unsettling attraction, which this unseemly character can indeed express, when he is not boring you with his reflections on brothels.

—MATTHEW CAROLAN

Pedophiles and Priests: Anatomy of a Contemporary Crisis, by Philip Jenkins (Oxford, 224 pp., $25)

FOR THOSE who have been offended by the media coverage of the "epidemic" of sexual abuse by Catholic priests, here at last is somewhere to turn for the facts. Philip Jenkins puts the crisis in historical and sociological perspective. The actual number of deviant priests is far smaller than alleged, and abusive clergymen are by no means all Roman Catholic. Those responsible for inflating the former and covering up the latter—namely, the liberal Catholic "dissenters," feminists, and the largely anti-Catholic media—have an agenda, wishing to portray celibacy and the all-male priesthood as not only outdated but dangerous. Mr. Jenkins points out that, while it is fortunate that society's concern about child abuse has increased, factors like the litigation explosion and the proliferation of therapists specializing in repressed memory have unfortunately made even innocent priests attractive targets.

—MARIA MCFADDEN

The Missionary Position: Mother Teresa in Theory and Practice, by Christopher Hitchens (Verso, 98 pp., $12.95)

IT'S difficult for a socialist to get attention these days, but Christopher Hitchens has discovered that if you get nasty about Mother Teresa in the pages of *Vanity Fair*, people will gibber and nod. Mr. Hitchens is made uneasy by the thought that somebody somewhere is doing a good deed motivated by personal charity rather than statist ideology. Mother Teresa's Roman Catholicism also bothers him because it is obscurantist and retrograde—unlike, say, Marxism in the 1990s. Hitchens's facts are, as always, haphazard: the dogma of the Immaculate Conception does *not* refer to Christ's birth; New York City did *not* offer to pay for the elevator it demanded in the South Bronx building Mother Teresa tried to convert into an AIDS hospice. As for his assertion that Mother Teresa is a self-aggrandizing schemer—well, to quote Dr. Johnson about the plot of *Cymbeline*, I hesitate to waste criticism on unresisting imbecility. The only good that will come from this book is the prayers the nuns of Mother Teresa's order are no doubt saying for its author.

—GEORGE SIM JOHNSTON

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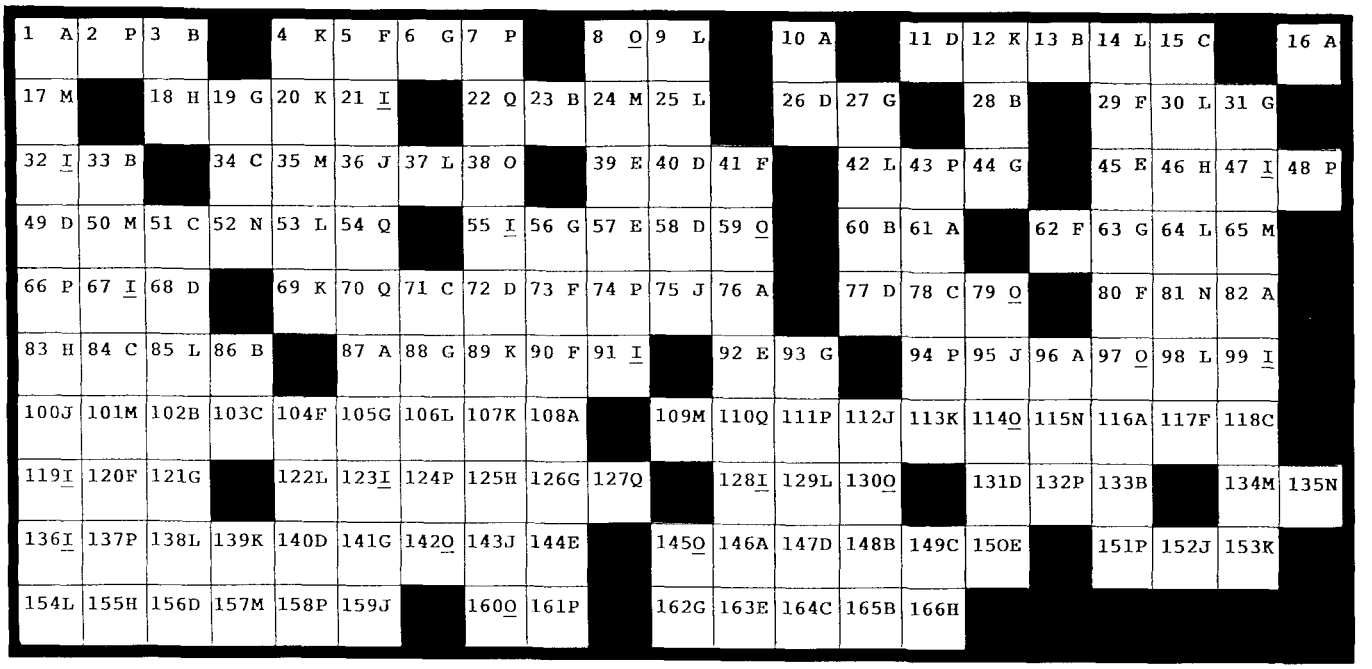
TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner



A. Burden of Deuteronomy's repeated warnings (2 words) — 16 87 76 146 61 96 82 1 10 116 108

B. Isaiah prophesied, Byron memorialized, his destruction — 33 133 102 23 28 165 148 86 3 13 60

C. Site of epic battle foreseen by John (Rev. 16) — 84 118 51 164 34 149 103 15 71 78

D. The Lord called Ananias to do this (2 words, Acts 9:10–19) — 156 40 140 131 49 26 11 147 68 77 72 58

E. Peter gave him neither silver nor gold, but healed him (2 words, Acts 3:2–7) — 39 92 163 144 45 57 150

F. Satan's minions — 120 104 90 73 80 117 62 5 41 29

G. More easily borne than the despot's thousand commands (3 words) — 141 88 93 162 105 19 63 56 44 126 27 6 121 31

H. Abraham's burial ground, David's early capital — 125 166 18 155 46 83

I. Bad news, in King James parlance (2 words) — 136 47 32 91 119 123 99 67 21 128 55

J. Noah found his on Ararat, not *in Connecticut* (2 words) — 112 159 100 152 95 36 75 143

K. He cast off Vashti, married Esther — 89 12 139 69 107 153 20 4 113

L. Zerubbabel restored this ruined edifice (3 words) — 42 37 122 154 138 98 129 106 9 25 14 64 85 30 53

M. Herod's victims — 35 157 65 101 109 134 50 24 17

N. Sacred shroud guarding the Holy of Holies — 135 52 81 115

O. Like the house built on sand — 142 97 59 145 160 8 38 130 114 79

P. Bishops, or overseers, are to feed this (4 words, Acts 20:28) — 151 43 48 158 66 111 137 94 132 2 161 124 7 74

Q. Samuel served the Lord while yet in his _____ — 127 110 22 54 70

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. WFB: NR *Publisher's Statement*: "Ideas have to go into exchange to become or remain operative; and the medium of such exchange is the printed word. A vigorous and incorruptible journal of conservative opinion is—dare we say it?—as necessary to better living as chemistry."

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ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

The Hot Plotters

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 28

The search for a greater choice of presidential candidates can't reach more desperate lengths than the situation reported over the weekend, namely that a Hot Plot has been hatching by means of telephone conference calls. Of the seven players who participated in these calls, reported to have lasted two hours each, three are relatively unknown, the others being Bill Bradley, Gary Hart, Paul Tsongas, and Lowell Weicker.

Time magazine reports that in their last telephone conference, it couldn't be settled which of the plotters should enter his name in the formal contest. About Senator Bradley there is this problem, namely that he would put his audience to sleep if he recited King Harry's speech to his soldiers at Agincourt. Mr. Bradley was recently in California testing the waters. He found them uniformly cold, if that is the right word for waters that react not at all to the finger stuck in them seeking Delphic encouragement.

Gary Hart, of course, has troubles that date back to his hubristic outing on the yacht *Monkey Business*, the design of which caper has to have been to prove that the American voters don't care any more about adultery than they are supposed to care about abortion. To be sure, Senator Hart, unlike most of the others on the party line last Sunday, is a charismatic political campaigner. But when the opportunity came up earlier in the year to run for the Senate from his home state, Colorado, he decided to pass it up. If you can't count on your home state for senator, it doesn't make much sense to go for 26 states.

Paul Tsongas is an attractive former senator who fired off a Roman candle or two during the Democratic primaries in 1992 by calling for a reduced federal deficit. He ran into the usual problem, which is that most voters are a) in favor of a balanced budget, and b) in favor of everything that causes the budget to be unbalanced. In any event, Mr. Tsongas has medical problems which are said to have caused him to rule himself out as the candidate of the Hot Plotters.

Lowell Weicker did succeed when he ran as an independent for governor of Connecticut, soon after his defeat for reelection as senator at the hands of Joseph Lieberman. Governor Weicker's reign calls to mind the blurb written by Evelyn Waugh for his friend Nancy Mitford's novel. "In 1945," Mr. Waugh wrote, "Miss Mitford voted the socialist ticket. Having done her best to make England uninhabitable, she went to France to live." It was Mr. Weicker who instituted the income tax in Connecticut, which has served no purpose other than to make the state less genial than it once was to middle-class residents and to corporations, many of which have fled. There is this additional problem, which is that Mr. Weicker is the most obnoxious moralist since Savonarola, suggesting that any deviation from whatever was his most recent political epiphany marks the dissenter as a cretin.

So where do we go from here? As regards Bradley–Hart–Tsongas–Weicker, the answer is: absolutely nowhere. What their putative coalition is meant to say is that there is (their word) a "huge" hunger for the kind of politics they represent. How does one reduce this agenda into idiomatic political language? Well, the easiest way to put it is that they are anti-Newt.

The Speaker has been having a rough time of it in recent days, and some of it is his fault. It isn't a fault you'd score against a philosopher, who happily comes up with reticulate bearings to help to understand any phenomenon. Years ago, wondering about some political quandary, I asked a distinguished historian to trace the cause of the problem and he replied unhesitantly, "William of Occam." He meant by this the introduction of relativist thought engendered by the denial of universals in the fourteenth century.

Okay, but of course Mr. Gingrich is supposed to speak in an idiomatic mode, and when someone calls to his attention a quite awful specimen of human depravity, it is not wise, let alone prudent, for him to cite federal welfare as the progenitive cause, even if, in a seminar, a professor might persuasively track depravity back to welfare, back to original sin. But of course the trouble with an etiological search so comprehensively concerned to identify the prime cause of human misbehavior is that it could finger Newt Gingrich as suffering from the sin of intellectual pride.

But the surviving point has got to be that the courage and the stamina of the Speaker have given the voters a vision of something truly distinctive from such an awful stew as one gets from the Hot Plotters, who don't even have an interesting idiosyncrasy to call attention to them. □

"I've already e-mailed you, and here's your hard copy."

25 Hours at Sea

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 17

Countdown time. In little more than a week, the government of the United States is scheduled to close down, there having been an impasse between the Executive Branch of government and the Legislative Branch. An esteemed world leader is assassinated, resulting in an Air Force One flight to Israel. Lo and behold, in the very same airplane are: the leader of the Executive Branch and the two leaders of the Legislative Branch.

They will be 25 hours in the same airplane! Could it be that the God Jehovah planned it that way? The golden opportunity to come together, 35,000 feet up in the air, a thousand miles away from the nearest air field, and spend some time discussing the future of the Republic?

But protocol reigns, and the airplane belongs, so to speak, to the leader of the Executive Branch; the two leaders of the Legislature are on board as guests. The initiative, therefore, has to come from the host.

But he doesn't approach them. Why? Well, we are told, he was grieving the loss of the slain world leader. The President of the United States could not drive from his mind his concern for intra-Israeli reconciliation. During the 12 hours heading east all he could think of was—Hebron. To that problem, and the surrounding problem of the West Bank, he bent his mighty political powers—that, and his concern for the grieving widow and children.

On the journey back, the doctor told the President he simply *had* to make an effort—as a sacrifice for his country—to distract himself from his preoccupation with Israeli fratricide. He needed therapy. And, since Bill Clinton is a soldier, even if he

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never went through formal basic training, he consented to make the effort, but stipulated that the only game he would consent to play was Hearts, which reminded him of the valentines he used to exchange with the slain prime minister.

Meanwhile, at the other end of the plane the two legislative leaders fidgeted, wondering when the President would come in, or else summon them to his quarters, to put it all out on the table. *There isn't that much time left!* is what was going through their minds. They looked out the window and saw Ireland go by, no summons. A couple of hours later they spotted Gander. Then Nova Scotia. Then Long Island. They permitted themselves to wonder whether a deal could be made between Long Island and Andrews Air Force Base, which after all was 90 minutes away, time enough to come up with something that would put off the crisis for a couple of weeks, maybe.

At that point Senator Dole is said to have turned to Newt and suggested that maybe the President could be persuaded to meet with them in Dayton to discuss the problem. But Newt was getting a little fed up and said there wouldn't be any rooms available in Dayton, not till all those Serbs and Croats and Muslims were out of there. Dole nodded and was about to suggest an alternative meeting place when an aide appeared, with the landing instructions.

They couldn't believe it! It was stipulated that the two leaders of the Legislature should disembark from the rear of the airplane. At first they reasoned that the purpose for this was to avoid any body contact with the President that might result in impetuous bargaining over what to do about the close of government at midnight. But no, Bob Dole said, there's no realistic fear of that happening, since there will be too much hustle and bustle getting out of the plane. There has to be some other motive. After all, in Israel we all disembarked up front. To change that plan now suggests a motive.

Newt looked up. *He had got the idea!* He was a historian, he told Bob, and he knew something about affronts *on a major scale*, and this was one of them. It hasn't absolutely been established, but there are revisionists out there who are convinced that Brutus acted as he did because of the inferior box Julius Caesar had stuck him in at the Colosseum's opening on the Ides of February. The President, he said, *is trying to provoke us!* He doesn't want reconciliation, he wants a public shoot-out with as many blasts on TV as he can get out of it!

Senator Dole furrowed his brow. There was always an alternative, he said. We could let the budget stay unbalanced?

Newt shook his head. No. We'll follow the lead of Caesar, and see what happens. □

McNamara's Final Surrender

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 21

Robert McNamara has every right to publish a book advising the world that in his opinion we had been wrong, "terribly wrong," in engaging in war in Vietnam. But what more can be said about the liberties of Bob McNamara? He is free, if he is so impelled, to join the Communist Party; or to form one, if it no longer exists. What is creepy about his most recent exercise in self-mortification is the auspices under which it is being done.

If you missed it, Mr. McNamara went to Vietnam, alongside a few other dignitaries whose names do not get into the papers, under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations. The announced purpose was to explore whether the war might have ended sooner, or indeed might have been averted altogether.

Now I am a member, however inert, of the Council on Foreign Relations, and I wonder why it should sponsor on a trip to Vietnam someone who has publicly abjured the reasoning of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, and the overwhelming majority of their advisors, on why the operation in Vietnam was justified. Inasmuch as Mr. McNamara received approximately 100 per cent of the publicity of the visiting delegation, the world has quite reasonably concluded that his oblation constitutes an official apology by the United States for acting as it did.

Well, the world is wrong; Mr. McNamara arrived with no such portfolio. When a few days ago Japan finally elected to apologize for Japanese conduct in Korea during and before the Second World War, the apology was tendered by the prime minister and represented official government opinion. McNamara's sole credential was as one representative of the Council on Foreign Relations. Several questions arise. The first is, What is the purpose in sending on a mission to investigate tensions with Vietnam an American who has publicly rejected, indeed scorned, the reason for such tensions? He wholly rejects the reasoning of the President who made him secretary of defense, the successor President who in 1964 was elected by a landslide in part because of his reaffirmation of the policy of containment, pronounced twenty years earlier by President Truman calling for resistance to Communist aggression whether in Greece, in Berlin, in Iran, in Guatemala, in Korea—or in Vietnam.

It would have been interesting if our former secretary of defense, in his meeting with General Giap—essentially Vietnam's secretary of defense—had met as old football coaches might have done to exchange locker-room talk about what might have worked in this situation, what in that situation. But Mr. McNamara wasn't in Vietnam to say to Giap, "You proved the better soldier." He was there as the prominent American whose support of the war, advertised so proudly while in office, had mutated, after thirty tortuous years, into a profound rejection of all the premises of that war. If a Christian theologian decides, at age 78, that on second thought he doesn't really think Christ was the Redeemer, he isn't very useful as a delegate to a conference inquiring into the causes of impiety. And there is no evidence that Mr. McNamara ever thought to ask General Giap such questions as, Since I have retreated from my moral position about going to war, have you retreated from yours about treating the people of Vietnam like slaves?

In 1964, McNamara absolutely affirmed that the Vietnamese were responsible for a second assault on an American naval vessel on August 4, 1964. He now declares that he is "overwhelmingly" convinced that no such assault actually occurred. And who does he ask to confirm his reversal? Why, the man who would have engineered the Tonkin Gulf attack. It happens that I am a student, however superficial, of the Tonkin Gulf episode, and *I* am convinced it never happened, but I am deeply convinced that the military and the Administration did genuinely believe it had happened. But the idea of going to Giap to ask for final judgment in the matter is the equivalent of going to Goering at Nuremberg and asking, Did you *really* slaughter six million Jews?

There is no effective way absolutely to teach people what manners are appropriate in what situations. I mean, there are several hundred thousand wives, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, sons, daughters who lost their husband, offspring, sibling, father in Vietnam. And they are justly solaced by their conviction that the fight was made in pursuit of a most honorable cause, i.e., to spare the people of South Vietnam the miseries of living under such as General Giap and Ho Chi Minh, while continuing to maintain the animating strategic policy of the Cold War. We lost the battle in Vietnam, but won the war—finally—not least because the enemy had at least a temporary experience of American resolution in Southeast Asia. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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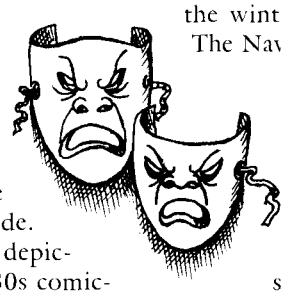
THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

LAST year my December column was given over to "Mis.Mis," computerese for "Miscellaneous Misanthrope," the disk file where I store material that did not make it into columns during the year—frequently because a little voice in my head whispered "Uh-uh."

This is America. Everybody's gotta right to start a tradition, so I've decided to do another Mis.Mis. We might as well begin with some uh-uhs.

■ Capt. Scott O'Grady, the pilot downed in Serbia, is our most embarrassing "hero" yet. An American officer does not describe himself as "a scared little bunny rabbit." Patton would have slapped him.



■ Have you noticed how many political cartoonists depict the generic teenaged welfare mother as a white girl? I clipped one showing a ponytailed blonde. Even more far-fetched is the depiction of male criminals as 1930s comic-strip "crooks"—burly, tattooed white men in masks and working-class caps who look like Victor McLaglen in *The Informer* or Sluggo in the "Nancy" comic strip.

■ Courage is in short supply nowadays. American drinkers defied the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution but American smokers knuckle under to the health lobby's agenda.

■ "A military chest seems to suit the ladies best," goes the old song. We need to get women out of the military, and then redesign men's uniforms to make them more dashing.

Democracy's tailors have destroyed the charms of male martial plumage. The present Army uniform looks like a forest ranger. Putting officers and men in identical green pants and tunics makes it impossible to distinguish rank at a glance. That, of course, is the whole point. Army officers used to wear "pinks and greens"—light tan pants with a dark tunic—while enlisted men wore khaki top and bottom. But that was too hierarchical, implying that some men are officers and some are not, so out it went.

The Air Force uniform looks like a Greyhound bus driver. They should copy the French flyers of World War I, whose uniforms were dyed to match the skies of Provence. The Marines have clung to their incomparable dress blues, but they should bring back the Sam Browne belt and swagger stick that they abandoned.

Naval officer whites are smart but the winter blues are too "suitish." The Navy especially needs a morale boost after what feminists have done to it. They should revive the officer's cocked hat and frock coat for full-dress occasions. As for the sailor, remove that silk hanky from his neck and give him a tie made from a thin strand of rope, along with collars of contrasting colors and a hard blue cap with his ship's name in gold.

Barbara Cartland: "The man in women's sexual fantasies is not nude, he's wearing a uniform."

■ A few days after the O.J. verdict the old-movie channel ran a 1952 British courtroom drama, *Eight O'Clock Walk*. I imagine they ran it because of the jury-selection scene: the first 12 names out of the box were the jury, and the first name called was automatically the foreman—that was that. My mouth dropped open. I've always known that the English did it this way, but evidently the O.J. trial had erased my memory.

■ Watching Atlanta Braves games, one catches glimpses of the new, chastened Jane Fonda whenever the camera pans to her and Ted Turner in their box. She's always snuggled up to him, gazing at him adoringly and giving him impulsive little kisses. His contempt is unmistakable. He married her to prove that he could do what the government could not; she married him because he looks and sounds like Henry Fonda.

■ One day when I was about seven, I opened a box of raisins and lifted out a nice fat clump. I was about to eat it when I saw that it was a huge dead bug. After restoring order among the female hysterics, my father flushed the bug down the toilet and wrote a letter to the company. They replied with a prompt letter of apology and said they were shipping us a complete line of their products. Several big cartons were duly delivered: canned fruit, vegetables, juices, cookies, and crackers. They sent us so much it took us weeks to eat it all.

It never occurred to us to sue them, and it never occurred to them to doubt my father's word and demand to see the bug. The incident was a study in civilized behavior all around. Can you imagine what would happen today? The aggrieved parties would rent a safety-deposit box for the bug, take the kid to a psychiatrist, and demand $100 million in damages. And to think we were grateful to get all that free food.

■ Call the spin doctor! The following individuals have come back from the dead to run for President of the United States:

W. Somerset Maugham: "Love is, essentially, only for the very stupid or the very poor."

Friedrich Nietzsche: "Wives and children have killed more artists than the cholera."

George Fitzhugh: "If women wore trousers, men would use them to plow with."

Henry Adams: "Journalism is the last resource of the educated poor who could not be artists and would not be teachers."

William Garrett Brown: "Africa still mocks America from her jungles. Still she jeers: 'With the dense darkness of my ignorance I confound your enlightenment; still, with my sloth, I weigh down the arms of your industry. Still with my supineness, I hang upon the wings of your aspiration. And in the very heart of your imperial young republic I have planted, sure and deep, the misery of this ancient curse I bear.'"

John Dryden: "Here lies my wife/Here let her lie/Now she's at peace/And so am I." □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

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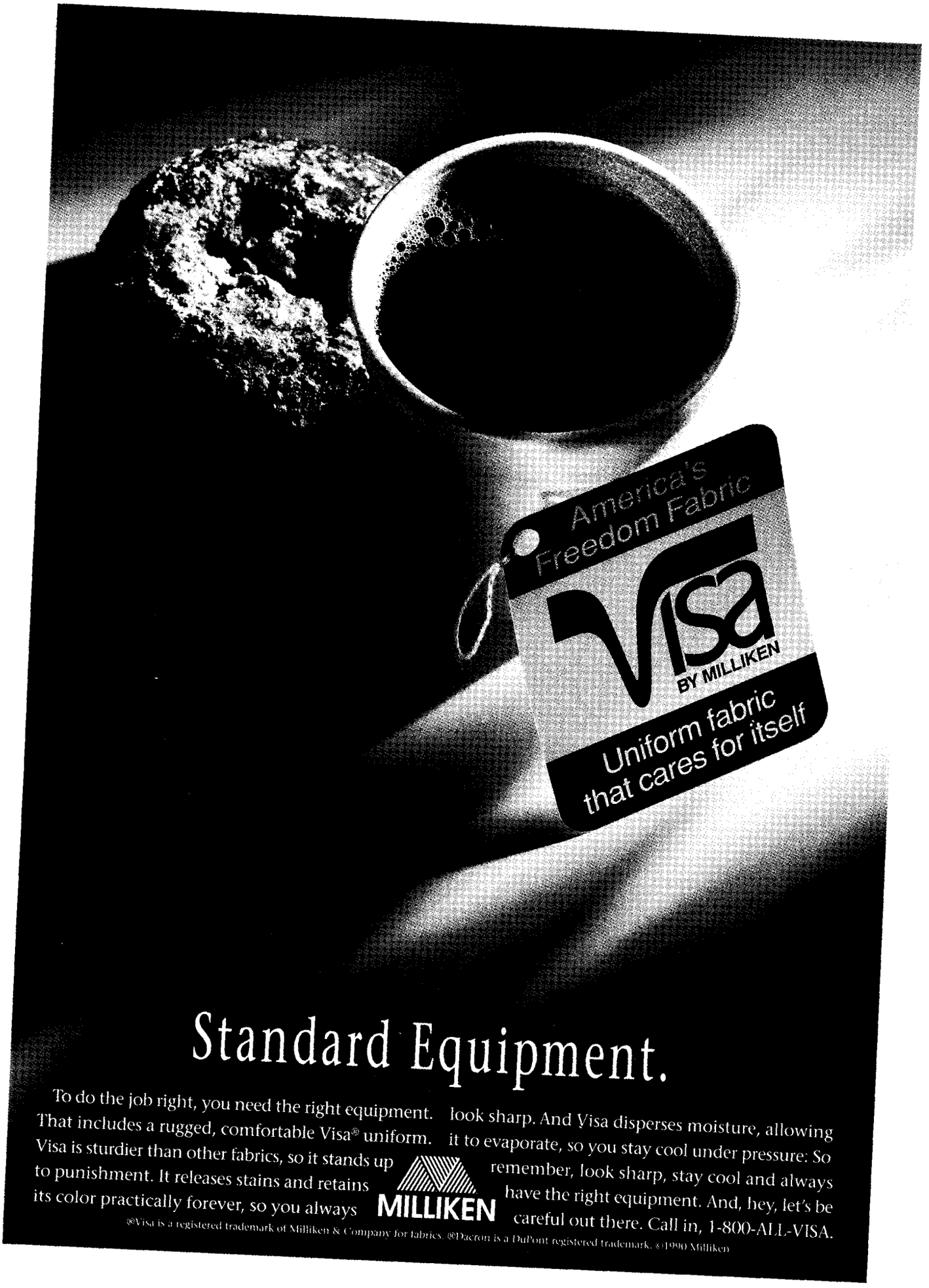

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